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**Orations “Eruditissime” and “Dilectissime” of Pope Pius II (29 October and 12 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini; 47-48)**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 47-48)**

**Orations “*Eruditissime*” and “*Dilectissime*” of Pope Pius II  
(29 October and 12 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and  
translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg**

**5th version**

**2019**

## Abstract

At the Congress of Mantua, 1459, three German princes were represented, individually, by the German jurist Gregor Heimburg. They were Archduke Albrecht of Austria, the emperor's brother; Duke Wilhelm of Sachsen; and Duke Sigismund of Austria, the emperor's cousin. On behalf of each prince, Heimburg gave an ambassadorial address to the pope, on 29 October, 12 November, and 21 November respectively. These addresses were delivered with studied insolence towards the pope. The pope kept his temper, however, and gave brief and courteous replies, the "*Eruditissime*" and the "*Dilectissime*", to the addresses on behalf of Archduke Albrecht and Duke Wilhelm. The pope's response to the speech on behalf of Duke Sigismund may not have survived, if indeed if it was ever given as an individual oration.

## Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Gregor Heimburg; Archduke Albrecht VI of Austria; Duke Wilhelm III of Sachsen; Duke Sigismund of Austria; Crusades against the Turks; 1459; 15<sup>th</sup> century; Responses to ambassadors

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## Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 80<sup>1</sup> orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

At a later stage the project was expanded to include ambassadors' orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

I shall much appreciate to be notified by readers who discover errors and problems in the text and translation or unrecognized quotations.

12 September 2019

MCS

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<sup>1</sup> 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted is a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

For the German princes, the Congress of Mantua and the pope's project of a crusade against the Turks was not an important issue.<sup>2</sup> Three of them were represented at the Congress by the German lawyer, Gregor Heimburg<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>: Archduke Albrecht of Austria, brother of Emperor Friedrich III; Duke Wilhelm III of Sacshen; and Duke Sigismund of Austria, who actually came to the congress in person.<sup>5</sup> Heimburg addressed the pope formally on behalf of each of these three princes, and the pope replied directly to at least two of the addresses, and indirectly – probably - to the third:

- 1) On 29 October 1459, Heimburg, in an open consistory, delivered the oration "*Non est propositi mei*" on behalf of Archduke Albrecht of Austria,
- 2) to which the pope answered directly with the oration "*Eruditissime*".
- 3) On 12 November, Heimburg, in a closed meeting, delivered the oration "*Ne cui mirum*" on behalf of Duke Wilhelm of Sachsen,
- 4) to which the pope answered directly with the oration "*Dilectissime*". Apparently, Heimburg had not informed the papal court in advance that he would be addressing the pope formally on the duke's behalf.
- 5) And, finally, on 21 November, Heimburg delivered the oration "*In refulgenti*" on behalf of Duke Sigismund of Austria, see below.

Heimburg's addresses may not have been as respectful as might be expected of envoys addressing His Holiness, but Voigt's claims of gross insolence may be exaggerated.<sup>6</sup> But Heimburg did deliver the oration for Duke Albrecht without removing his hat, pretending to fear a cold as he told the pope, at the end of the oration: *Steti quanquam textus capite, pater beatissime, ne catharus impediret me pronunciantem. Quod contra morem feci, necessitas excuset et indulgeat clementia*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, III, 44; Joachimsohn, ch. 5; Langmeier, pp. 520-512; Pastor, II, pp. 62; Picotti, pp. 236-237, 259-260; Voigt, IV, pp. 77-79, 99-101;

<sup>2</sup> See Langmeier, p. 520, on Archduke Albrecht's embassy to the Congress: *Wie für die anderen Fürsten nahm die Türkenfrage dabei für ihn nur eine sehr nebensächliche Rolle ein*

<sup>3</sup> Gregor Heimburg (beg. 15th c.-1472): German jurist, humanist and statesman. Enemy of the papacy generally and of Pius II who eventually excommunicated him. In earlier days, the two men actually had quite friendly relations, see Joachimsohn, p. 150. Gregor Heimburg entered the service of Archduke Albrecht in January 1458 and the service of Duke Sigismund in May 1458 (Joachimsohn, p. 158). For a biography of Heimburg, see Joachimsohn

<sup>4</sup> Heimburg arrived in Mantua in October 1459 (Joachimsohn, p. 162)

<sup>5</sup> The personal presence of Sigismund of Austria at the Congress in Mantua was not motivated by his crusading zeal, but by his conflict with Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues whose bishopric (Brixen) was situated in the duke's territories

<sup>6</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 77-78; Pastor, II, 62; Picotti, p. 237, 259-260; and especially Joachimsohn, p. 164

*pietatis vestrae*.<sup>1</sup> He also dared to interrupt the pope's oration "*Dilectissime*", on a point of history, but was brought to silence by Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues. And finally, in his oration for Duke Sigismund, he spoke on Piccolomini's well-known writings as a young man, some erotical, including the draft of a love letter to be used by the young Sigismund, causing murmurings in the audience and possibly also some degree of glee! In his *Commentarii*, the pope, however, wrote quite calmly about that episode.<sup>2</sup>

Heimburg's address on behalf of Archduke Sigismund<sup>3</sup> was delivered on 21 November, during the papal consistory at which also the French embassy was received. The orations of the French royal ambassadors and Pius' reply<sup>4</sup> took up much time, and - as Pius himself said - the audience became rather exhausted.

Though the text itself seems not to have survived,<sup>5</sup> Pius may have given a very short, formal, individual response to Heimburg's address. In his *Commentarii*, after commenting on Heimburg's oration, he did write:

*The pope, who had known Sigismund from a boy, declared that he had had a most laudable childhood and youth; he passed over his later years in silence. He confirmed and even added to the praise that Gregor had bestowed on his family. He accepted his aid against the Turks.*<sup>6</sup>

But Pius also mentioned Heimburg's speech in his oration to the French ambassadors, at the same occasion, when he said:

*Today, many and great things, worthy of hearing, have been said: we have heard four orations, three on behalf of our beloved son Charles, the Most Christian and Illustrious King of France, on behalf of our beloved son René, also an Illustrious King, and on behalf of the mighty people of Genua. In the fourth, the perspicacious and learned ambassador, Gregory, showed, with splendid eloquence, the great religious devotion, dignity, and nobility of the House of Austria.*  
[Sect. 1]

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<sup>1</sup> Langmeier, p. 521, n. 205, has this comment: *Zwar gilt eine persönliche Abneigung zwischem Gregor und Piccolomini als ausgemacht, doch scheint es undenkbar, das sein Gesandter ohne das Wissen seines Herrn ein derartige despektierliches Verhalten an den Tag legen konnte, noch dazu, wenn der Adressat der Papst war*

<sup>2</sup> CO, III, 44 (Meserve, II, p. 189): *Among other things, Gregor had said that when Pius was in minor orders [in minoribus ageret: should have been translated differently, e.g. "when he had not yet attained high office"], Sigismund had been his pupil and had eagerly read his letters, a copy of which he still kept with him. Some of these letters were in fact written to [or "for"] Sigismund himself. This can be verified by anyone who examines Pius' collection of secular correspondence written before he took holy orders. Pius was actually quite proud of his youthful writings, even the erotical ones, though he endeavoured to suppress some very salacious poems from his student days in Siena*

<sup>3</sup> Published by Joachimsohn in appendice

<sup>4</sup> Oration "*Multa hic hodie / Placuit audivisse*" [49]

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Joachimsohn, p. 164

<sup>6</sup> CO, III, 44 (Meserve, II, p. 189)

During the pope's negotiations with the German envoys concerning the German contribution to the crusade, Gregor Heimburg acted as a staunch opponent of both the papacy and the emperor, organizing and becoming a spokesman for German resistance to the crusade which he considered as nothing more than a papal ploy to raise funds for the papal court and for the emperor.

## 2. Themes

The pope's responses are formal replies to Gregor Heimburg as representative of princes.

They contain the obligatory complimentary remarks about the excellence of the prince and his house.

The "*Dilectissime*" also contains references to a classical genealogy of the Saxons, which Pius had from the historian Godfrey of Viterbo.

The excuse for Duke Albrecht's absence was a rather delicate matter for the pope: he was occupied with the inheritance after King Ladislaus, Heimburg had said, and indeed he was. The inheritance caused a severe conflict between Albrecht and his brother, Emperor Friedrich, a conflict that would really only end with Albrecht's premature death in 1463.

## 3. Dates, place, audience and format

All authors agree that the "*Eruditissime*" was given on 29 October 1459 and the "*Dilectissime*" on 12 November.

The "*Eruditissime*" was probably delivered during a public consistory, but the "*Dilectissime*" was apparently given under more private forms, cf. the introduction to that oration which may not have been quite sincere: for various reasons the pope may not have wanted to give Heimburg a greater audience for his speech and – possibly – his insolent behaviour.

The audience at the first occasion would be cardinals, ambassadors and curials, and possibly other participants in the Congress. The audience at the second occasion would, by papal design, have been rather limited.

The format was a papal speech from the throne in reply to an ambassadorial address.

## 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>2</sup>

The text of the two orations – together with the orations of Heimbург - is extant in at least six manuscripts<sup>3</sup>, which all appear to derive from a report written by Heimbург himself, including his notes on his own audacious behavior and the reaction of the audience (see above). No manuscript containing the orations have been found in Italy and the Vatican, possibly reflecting the pope's distaste at having had to make formal and kindly replies to an inimical and insolent Heimbург, who was even later excommunicated:

- **Budapest / Országos Széchényi Könyvtár**  
Miscellanea 1560,<sup>4</sup> ff. 173r-201r
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos. 88, ff. 78v-101r<sup>5</sup> **(T)** \*
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**  
Clm 522, ff. 140r-153v<sup>6</sup> **(P)** \*  
Clm 4016, ff. 13r-18r<sup>7</sup> **(M)**

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1

<sup>2</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

<sup>3</sup> Joachimson, p. 104, mentions the München (clm 4016) and the Nürnberg mss.: "Beides ziemlich schlechte Abschriften"

<sup>4</sup> I.e. including the former Museum Ungaricum. See Joachimsohn, p. 162, n. 6t

<sup>5</sup> All five orations, in two sections: ff. 78v-84v ("*Ne cui mirum*"), 84v-86v ("*Dilectissimi*") // 92v-98r ("*Non est propositi*"), 98r-99r ("*Eruditissime*"), 99r-101 ("*In refulgenti*")

<sup>6</sup> All five orations, together: ff. 140r-145r ("*Ne cui mirum*"), 145r-146r ("*Dilectissimi*"), 146r-150v ("*Non est propositi*"), 151r-151v ("*Eruditissime*"), 151v-153v ("*In refulgenti*")

<sup>7</sup> Only Heimbург's three orations, together: ff. 13r-15v ("*Ne cui mirum*"), 15v-17r ("*Non est propositi*"), 17r-18r ("*Eruditissime*")

- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**  
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 247r-253v<sup>1</sup> **(N)** \*
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**  
B VIII 15, ff. 144v-146, 179v-180v<sup>2</sup> **(S)** \*

The “*Eruditissime*” and the “*Dilectissime*” have not been published previously, but the “*In refulgenti*” was published by Joachimsohn in 1891.

## 4.2. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9-10.

*Text:*

The edition of the two orations of Pius II are based on the manuscripts listed above, except the Budapest manuscript. For the orations of Heimburg, see each oration in the appendix.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the München / clm 522.

## 5. Sources<sup>3</sup>

In these orations, no direct or indirect quotations have been identified.

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<sup>1</sup> All five orations, together: ff. 247r-249r (“*Ne cui mirum*”), 249v-250r (“*Dilectissimi*”), 250r-252v (“*Non est propositi*”), 252v-253r (“*Eruditissime*”), 253r-253v (“*In refulgenti*”)

<sup>2</sup> All five orations, in two sections: ff. 139r-144r (“*Ne cui mirum*”), 144r-146r (“*Dilectissimi*”) // 174v-179v (“*Non est propositi*”), 179v-180v (“*Eruditissime*”), 180v-182v (“*In refulgenti*”)

<sup>3</sup> On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

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Weinfurter, Stefan: *Das Reich im Mittelalter – kleine deutsche Geschichte von 500 bis 1500*. München, 2008

## 6. Sigla and abbreviations

**M** = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 4016

**N** = Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek / Cent. V, App. 15

**P** = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 522

**S** = Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter / B VIII 15

**T** = Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek / 8 Philos. 88

**JO** = Joachimsohn, Paul: *Gregor Heimburg*. Bamberg, 1891 (Historische Abhandlungen aus dem Münchener Seminar; 1)

### Abbreviations

**CO** = Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. [1464]

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacalis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

**HB** = Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Bohemica*. Herausg. J. Hejnic & H. Rothe. 2 vols. Köln, 2005. (Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte. Neue Folge. Reihe B; 20)

**MA** = Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759

**MPL** = Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologia latina*. 217 vols. 1841-1865



**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

**WO** = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918

**Decretum** = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda. Eds. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879

**Epistolarium** = *Enee Silvii Piccolominei Epistolarium Seclare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007

**Rainaldus** = *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663

**Reject** = *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki *et al.* Washington, D.C., 2006



# II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

# 1. Oration “*Eruditissime*” of Pope Pius II (29 October 1459, Mantua)<sup>1</sup>

## Responsio papae Pii<sup>2</sup> ad doctorem Gregorium<sup>3</sup>

[1] {151r} Eruditissime et doctissime Gregori<sup>4</sup>, orationem tuam pro parte<sup>5</sup> dilectissimi filii nostri archiducis Austriae coram nobis habitam tres partes habere perpendimus. In prima parte<sup>6</sup> attestaris te non advenisse ad laudes illius inclytae stirpis Austriae declamandas<sup>7</sup>. Secundo filium nostrum de non comparitione personali, quam ipse promisit, excusas. Tertio loco mandatum ejusdem archiducis producens eumdem filium nostrum ad omnia, quae pro salutari expeditione contra Turcman rabiem expedire videbuntur, liberaliter obtulisti.

[2] Quantum ad primam partem, certum est virtutes illius domus Austriae tanta<sup>8</sup> famae gloria<sup>9</sup> celebrari, ut nemo sit in orbe Christiano, cujus notitiam aufugerint<sup>10</sup>. Quod autem in illa parte subjunxisti, quod nosmet illos<sup>11</sup> ipsas virtutes excellentissimae domus Austriae in conspectu Romani pontificis peroravimus<sup>12</sup>, verum est, nam bis coram papa Nicolao, praedecessore<sup>13</sup> nostro, pro imperatore Romano<sup>14</sup> ambasiatam<sup>15</sup> egimus, et semel apud Calixtum et gloriam illius domus praecipuis laudum praeconiis prosecuti sumus, ita ut laudes ipsius jam non est opus repetere, apud quam domum jam summa dignitas temporalis, scilicet Romanum imperium, fulget.

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<sup>1</sup> München / clm 4016, ff. 17v-18r (**M**) ; München / clm 522, ff. 151r-151v (**P**) ; Nürnberg / Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 252v-253r (**N**) ; Salzburg / b VIII 15, ff. 179v-180v (**S**) ; Göttingen/ 8 Philos 88, ff. 98r-99r (**T**)

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>3</sup> Pius Papa Secundi **M**; Responsio papae ad verba Gregorii orantis **S**; Pii II Pontificis Maximi responsio extemporalis **T**

<sup>4</sup> Georgi **T**

<sup>5</sup> pro parte : per te **S, T**

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* **S, T**

<sup>7</sup> declarandas **S, T**

<sup>8</sup> tantae **N, P**

<sup>9</sup> gloriae **N, P**

<sup>10</sup> effugerint **S, T**

<sup>11</sup> illas **S, T**

<sup>12</sup> exoravimus **S, T**

<sup>13</sup> precessore **T**

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* **S, T**

<sup>15</sup> ambaxiatam **M**

## Response of Pope Pius to doctor Gregor

[1] Most learned and erudite Gregor, We noted that your oration to Us on behalf of Our beloved son, the Archduke of Austria,<sup>1 2</sup> had three parts: in the first you said that you had not come in order to declaim the praises of the illustrious House of Austria. In the second, you excused that Our son has not come in person as promised. In the third, you presented the Archduke's mandate and Our son's generous offer of assistance to the salutary expedition against the rabid Turks.

[2] Concerning the first part, the virtues of the famous and glorious House of Austria are praised so far and wide that everyone in the Christian world knows them. You added that We Ourselves have spoken about the virtues of the excellent House of Austria before a Roman Pontiff, and that is indeed true. For twice the Roman Emperor<sup>3</sup> sent Us on an embassy to Pope Nicolaus,<sup>4</sup> Our predecessor,<sup>5</sup> and once We declaimed the praises of this house before Calixtus.<sup>6 7</sup> So there is really no reason to repeat, today, the praise of that house which holds the glorious supreme temporal office, the Roman Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Albrecht VI of Habsburg (1418-1463): Archduke of Inner Austria (i.e. the duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola) from 1424 and of Upper Austria from 1457 to his death

<sup>2</sup> On the relationship between Pius II and Albrecht VI, see Langmeier, pp. 122-125

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Archduke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

<sup>4</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 until his death

<sup>5</sup> In 1450, to prepare the imperial coronation, at which occasion Piccolomini delivered the oration "*Fateor*[19] and in 1452, after the imperial coronation, to exhort the pope to summon a crusade against the Turks, at which occasion he delivered the oration "*Moses vir Dei*" [19]

<sup>6</sup> Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

<sup>7</sup> In 1455, to present the emperor's declaration of obedience to the pope, at which occasion he delivered the oration "*Solent plerique*" [26]

[3] Deinde ad causas excusationis descendendo<sup>1</sup> hoc dicimus in primis, quod maxime nos delectaret praesentia et personalis conspectus illius<sup>2</sup> dilectissimi filii nostri archiducis, sed quia haereditati illi, quae sibi obtigit in sortem, quae Marchia supra Anasum<sup>3</sup> vocatur, habuit incumbere, ut bene dixisti (ut fluvius ille Noricos distinguit a Pannoniis - olim illa fuit Pannonia<sup>4</sup>, nunc vero Austria nuncupatur), et quia negotia illa, in quibus {151v} ille filius noster tam prudenter et utiliter versatus est, adeo necessaria sunt et etiam illi expeditioni contra Turcmam perfidiam plurimum accomoda, non solum habemus nobilitatem suam excusatam, quin etiam gratias referimus<sup>5</sup> sibi, quod tam salubre opus operatus est, ex quo plus commoditatis obvenisse non ambigimus<sup>6</sup>, quam si personaliter apud nos fuisset constitutus.

[4] In tertia parte orationis tuae mandatum ostendisti plenissimum, in quo tres personas dicis esse nominatas. Et in primis alterius absentiam excusas, quae non fuit excusatio necessaria, quia in vobis duobus omnis potestas plenarie transfusa conspicitur. Oblationem<sup>7</sup> vero tuam et collegae tui gratissimo animo suscipimus<sup>8</sup>, laudantes ipsius filii nostri sinceritatem et devotionem. Similiter<sup>9</sup> reverentiam<sup>10</sup> vestram recipimus<sup>11</sup> nobis in domino commendatam<sup>12</sup>. Quae vero privatim sive ad partem nobis reserare<sup>13</sup> habetis, id in penetralibus, ut prudenter, tute<sup>14</sup> modo<sup>15</sup> consuluisti, ac prompto et libenti animo audiemus.

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<sup>1</sup> descendo T

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>3</sup> Anasus *in marg.* P; Anosum S

<sup>4</sup> Pannonia *in marg.* P

<sup>5</sup> referemus P

<sup>6</sup> ambigimus S

<sup>7</sup> obligationem S, T

<sup>8</sup> suscepimus N, P

<sup>9</sup> simul S, T

<sup>10</sup> prudentiam M, S, T

<sup>11</sup> recepimus N, P

<sup>12</sup> commendativam S, T

<sup>13</sup> deserare N, P

<sup>14</sup> in te S, T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* S, T

[3] Next, coming to the reasons mentioned in the apology<sup>1</sup>, We shall say first of all that the personal presence of Our beloved son the Archduke would have pleased Us greatly. But presently he is occupied with the inheritance of the March above the Enns, which has fallen to him<sup>2</sup> (as you stated correctly because that river<sup>3</sup> separates [the region of] the Norici from [the region of] the Pannonians, once Pannonia, now called Austria). And since the affairs, in which Our beloved son is presently engaged so wisely and usefully, are both very urgent and highly important for the expedition against the Turkish infidels, We not only excuse His Highness,<sup>4</sup> but We even thank him for undertaking this beneficial enterprise: We do not doubt that in this way he will further [the cause of the expedition] even more than if he had come here in person.

[4] In the third part of your oration you presented your letters of credence<sup>5</sup> in which, as you say, three persons are named.<sup>6</sup> You made excuses for the absence of the third, but that was unnecessary since plenary power was manifestly given to you two who are present. We gratefully accept yours and your colleague's offers, and We commend Our son's sincerity and devotion. We also accept and commend in the Lord your [declaration of] reverence towards Us. The matters which you would discuss with Us privately or separately, We shall hear with a ready and open mind and in private, as you have prudently advised.

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<sup>1</sup> For the archduke's absence

<sup>2</sup> His inheritance after King Ladislaus as Archduke of Austria, i.e. Upper Austria, the part of Austria "above the river Enns". Ladislaus had died the year before, in 1458

<sup>3</sup> The Enns

<sup>4</sup> "nobilitas"

<sup>5</sup> "mandatum plenissimum"

<sup>6</sup> Gregor Heimburg, Count Rudolf of Sulz and a third person who was not present (Voigt, IV, 1, p. 77)

## 2. Oration “*Dilectissime*” of Pope Pius II (12 November 1459, Mantua)<sup>1</sup>

### Responsio papae Pii Secundi<sup>2</sup>

[1] {145r} Dilectissime Gregori, orationem tuam coram nobis habitam maxime<sup>3</sup> cuperemus in publico factam<sup>4</sup> et propter ornatum verborum, quo tu<sup>5</sup> more solito usus es, tum<sup>6</sup> pro<sup>7</sup> gravitate<sup>8</sup> sententiarum, quas protulisti. Et profecto, si scivissemus, quod tu pro illo illustri principe causam orare voluisses et tam graves sententias pro nobis et ecclesia Romana disserere<sup>9</sup>, publicam audientiam fieri procurassemus, quatenus illius inclytæ stirpis et illa vetustissima Saxonum in Romanam ecclesiam liberalitas et illius principis erga nos et sedem apostolicam devotio omnibus nota facta fuisset.

[2] Quam orationem tuam duas partes habuisse, prospeximus<sup>10</sup>, in quarum prima Saxonum originem et eorum erga Romanam ecclesiam merita commemorasti. In secunda parte excusationem<sup>11</sup> domini ducis Wilhelmi<sup>12</sup> cum ejus oblatione more eloquentiæ tuæ diserte et facundissime enarrasti.

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<sup>1</sup> München / clm 4016 does not contain the text; München / clm 522, ff. 145r-146r (**P**) ; Nürnberg / Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 249v-250r (**N**) ; Salzburg / b VIII 15, ff. 144v-146r (**S**); Göttingen / 8 Philos 88, ff. 84v-86v (**T**)

<sup>2</sup> Pii Secundi *omit.* **N**; Responsio papae ad verba oratoris Gregorii nuncupati qui non ad hoc missus sed ob defectum seu absentiam propriorum oratorum ducis Saxoniae Wilhelmi illorum vicem supplevit **S**; Responsio extemporalis Pii pape II ad præviam orationem **T**

<sup>3</sup> maximam **N**

<sup>4</sup> esse *add.* **S, T**

<sup>5</sup> tuo **S, T**

<sup>6</sup> et *add.* **S, T**

<sup>7</sup> propter **S**

<sup>8</sup> gravitatem **S**

<sup>9</sup> differre **S**

<sup>10</sup> perspeximus **T**

<sup>11</sup> excusationi **N**

<sup>12</sup> Guilhelm- *et passim* **N, P**



# Response of pope Pius II

## 1. Introduction

[1] Beloved Gregor, the oration you held before Us We should very much have liked to be given in public, because of your customary rhetorical elegance and because of the importance of your declarations. Indeed, had We known that you would be speaking on behalf of that illustrious prince<sup>1</sup> and on matters so important to Us and the Roman Church, We would have arranged a public audience, so that the age-old generosity of that illustrious family<sup>2</sup> and the Saxons towards the Roman Church and the devotion of this prince to Us and the Apostolic See would be made known to all.

[2] We noted that your oration had two parts: in the first you commemorated the origin of the Saxons and their merits towards the Roman Church, and in the second you presented with your customary eloquence and learning the excuses of Duke Wilhelm together with his offer of assistance [to the crusade].

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<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm III of Sachsen (1425-1482): Duke of Saxony, brother of Prince Elector Friedrich II of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and claimant Duke of Luxembourg

<sup>2</sup> The ducal House of Saxony

[3] In prima parte persuasionem tuam non arguimus. Sed pro nobilitate Saxonum cum historico Viterbiensi sentimus<sup>1</sup>, qui Saxones ex Macedonibus et de stirpe Achillis processisse refert<sup>2</sup>, ex qua et Alexander Magnus descendit, quo<sup>3</sup> nemo major<sup>4</sup> umquam vix neque Caesar neque<sup>5</sup> Pompejus nec quisquam Romanorum imperatorum vel ducum fuisse reperitur, qui totum fere orbem terrae praedomuit. Et idem Viterbiensis ait illa lingua<sup>6</sup> Saxonem virum fortem appellari. Dicit insuper Macedones ipsi<sup>7</sup> navigio<sup>8</sup> paludes Maeotides<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> omnemque Italiam et Galliam circuisse, tandem in Scythiam<sup>11</sup> eo loco, ubi Bistola<sup>12</sup> illabatur, sedes collocasse, quod flumen alii Bistolam<sup>13</sup>, alii Instolam<sup>14</sup>, {145v} alii Vistolam vocant, ubi - ut ait Viterbiensis - aliquando Ulmerici<sup>15</sup> habitabant, nunc vos Pruteni<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Origo Saxonum *nota marg.* P

<sup>2</sup> Papa dicit originem Saxonum ex stirpe Achillis processisse *in marg. S [in another hand]*

<sup>3</sup> quia S, T

<sup>4</sup> nemo major : maior nemo P

<sup>5</sup> nec S, T

<sup>6</sup> lingua N, P

<sup>7</sup> ipso S, T

<sup>8</sup> Manicheo S, T

<sup>9</sup> *em.*; Motides N, P; Meoticas T

<sup>10</sup> navigio ... Maeotides : Manichio pallides motitas S

<sup>11</sup> Scythia *nota marg.* P

<sup>12</sup> Bistoria S, T

<sup>13</sup> Bistoriam S, T

<sup>14</sup> Vistalam S, T

<sup>15</sup> Oliverius S, T

<sup>16</sup> Bruteni N, P, S

## 2. Origin of the Saxons and their generosity towards the Roman Church

### 2.1. Origin of the Saxons

[3] We do not argue with the views presented in the first part of your oration. But concerning the nobility of the Saxons,<sup>1</sup> We rather agree with the historian from Viterbo<sup>2</sup> according to whom the Saxons descended both from the Macedonians and the line of Achilles.<sup>3</sup> From this line, Alexander the Great<sup>4</sup> also descended: neither Caesar<sup>5</sup> nor Pompey<sup>6</sup> nor any of the Roman emperors or generals appears to have been greater than him who conquered almost all the world. And the same historian from Viterbo claims that in that language “Saxon” means “a strong man”. He also states that the Macedonians, having sailed past the Maeotian Swamp<sup>7</sup> and around all of Italy and Gaul, finally settled in Scythia, in the region where Vistula<sup>8</sup> empties [into the Ocean] (some call this river Bistola, others Instola, and others again Vistula).<sup>9</sup> That region, says the historian from Viterbo, was formerly inhabited by the Ulmerigi,<sup>10</sup> but now you Bruteni<sup>11</sup> are living there.

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<sup>1</sup> The construction of noble genealogies reaching back to Antiquity and preferably to Troy went back to the Early Middle Ages and had the purpose of bolstering the legitimacies of the rising noble houses of Europe

<sup>2</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo (ca. 1120-ca. 1196): chronicler, either Italian or German. From an early age he displayed great activity as one of the clergy at the court of Konrad III and later Friedrich I

<sup>3</sup> Achilles: (Greek myth.) a Greek hero of the Trojan War and the central character and greatest warrior of Homer's Iliad. His mother was the nymph Thetis, and his father, Peleus, was the king of the Myrmidons

<sup>4</sup> Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

<sup>5</sup> Julius Caesar, Gaius (100–44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

<sup>6</sup> Pompejus Magnus, Gnaeus (106–48 BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

<sup>7</sup> The present day Sea of Azov. See Plinius: *Historia Naturalis*, 4.78: *The actual Sea of Azov, which receives the Don flowing down from the Ripaeian Mountains (Lacus ipse Maeotis Tanain amnem ex Ripaeis montibus defluentem accipiens)*

<sup>8</sup> German name: Weichsel. The Vistula River arises in Barania Góra in the South of Poland, passes through Poland and empties into the Vistula Lagoon or directly into the Gdansk Bay of the Baltic Sea

<sup>9</sup> Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Brown), ch. 29, p. 149: *... the Vistula River, which forms the boundary between Sarmatia and Germany ... Some, as I have done, have called this river Vistula, which agrees with modern parlance, others the Istula and some the Istula*

<sup>10</sup> Ulmerigi: a people that, according to Jordanes in his *Historia Gothorum*, lived at the mouth of the Vistula

<sup>11</sup> = Pruteni, i.e. Old Prussians or Baltic Prussians

[4] Haec omnia dixisse volumus, ut nobilitatem<sup>1</sup> Saxonum<sup>2</sup> majoribus laudibus extolleremus<sup>3</sup> quam illam Gothicam, qui, quamdiu imperium apud Romanos fuit, incogniti erant. Sed imperio ad Graecos translato tunc demum sese extulerunt<sup>4</sup> per Moesiam<sup>5</sup>, quae nunc Rascia est<sup>6</sup> et Servia vocatur, Pannoniam et Thraciam dominantes, quae omnia post tempora Constantini facta leguntur.

[*Interruption by Gregor Heimburg:*]

*Gregorius Heimburg: Beatissime pater, Constantinus auctor est illius legis de officiis p.p. Africae, quae incipit "Quas laudes et gratias domino nostro Jesu Christo referamus nec mente concipere nec lingua<sup>7</sup> explicare valet etc<sup>8</sup>. Et Vandalorum<sup>9</sup> crudelissimam gentem devicimus<sup>10</sup>." Cardinalis Brutenus ita scribit, auctor meus. Cusa silentium indicat. Papa prosequitur.<sup>11</sup>*

Constat quidem Theodoricum<sup>12</sup>, regem Gothorum ultimum, xiiii annis Italiam occupasse et per Justinianum imperatorem expulsum.

[5] Nunc de virtutibus Saxonum hoc scimus, quod illi Ottones tantae gloriae fuerunt, quod nemo sufficit explicare, et multas dotes contulerunt in ecclesiam Romanam<sup>13</sup> et pontifices Romanos summo honore, summa reverencia coluerunt, quibus et eorum successoribus ecclesia plurimum debet.

[6] Deinde obtulisti operas et obsequia domini ducis ad beneplacita nostra<sup>14</sup>, quae sunt nobis gratissima. Nec dubitamus, quin<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> fratribus nostris, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus, id<sup>17</sup> gratissimum sit, et quemadmodum nos illum ex toto corde diligimus, ita et fratres nostri sibi afficiantur<sup>18</sup> integerrime.

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<sup>1</sup> nobilitatum N

<sup>2</sup> Saxonibus S, T

<sup>3</sup> extollemus S, T

<sup>4</sup> extollerunt T

<sup>5</sup> Mesia *in marg.* P

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* N, P, S

<sup>7</sup> ligna N, P

<sup>8</sup> et ita N, P

<sup>9</sup> Wandalorum N

<sup>10</sup> defecimus S

<sup>11</sup> G. Heimburg: Beatissime pater ... prosequitur *omit.* T

<sup>12</sup> theologum S, T

<sup>13</sup> ecclesiam Romanam : Romanam ecclesiam P

<sup>14</sup> nostra *omit.* S, T

<sup>15</sup> quam S

<sup>16</sup> et *add.* S, T

<sup>17</sup> illud S, T

<sup>18</sup> afficiuntur T

[4] All this We have mentioned in order to extol the nobility of the Saxons more greatly than that of the Goths<sup>1</sup> who were unknown when the imperial government was in Roman hands. Only after it was transferred to the Greeks did the Goths pass through Moesia, which is now called Rascia and Serbia, and ruled Pannonia and Thracia, all of which happened - as we read - after the times of Constantine.<sup>2</sup>

[*Interruption by Gregor Heimburg*]<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, it is a well known that Theoderic,<sup>4</sup> the last King of the Goths, governed Italy for 14 years and was expelled by Justinian.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2. Saxon generosity towards the papacy

[5] Concerning the virtues of the Saxons we know that the Ottonians<sup>6</sup> were glorious beyond description, that they bestowed many gifts upon the Roman Church, and that they showed great veneration and supreme honour to the Roman pontiffs. Therefore the Church holds them and their successors in the highest regard.

[6] Afterwards you offered the contribution and the commitment of the Lord Duke to Our enterprise for which We are most grateful. We do not doubt that it is also most welcome to Our brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and just as We love him with Our whole heart, they too are completely devoted to him.

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<sup>1</sup> The Goths: an East Germanic people, two of whose branches, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths, played an important role in the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the emergence of Medieval Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Constantinus I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Disagreeing with the pope's view, Heimburg – completely against protocol – dared to interrupt him, saying: *Beatissime pater, Constantinus auctor est illius legis de officiis p.p. Affrice que incipit: Quas laudes et gratias domino nostro Jesu Christo referamus nec mentem concipere nec laudes ligna [lingua] explicare valet. Et in: Et Wandalorum crudelissimam gentem devicimus. Cardinalis Brutenus ita scribit, auctor meus. Cusa silentium indicat. Papa prosequitur*

<sup>4</sup> Theoderic the Great (454-526): king of the Ostrogoths (475–526), ruler of Italy (493–526), regent of the Visigoths (511–526), and a *patricius* of the Roman Empire

<sup>5</sup> Justinianus I [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus] (ca. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Holy Roman Emperors Otto I, Otto II, and Otto III

[7] Quod autem narrasti nobis de bellis et differentiis principum illarum partium de {146r} hoc ex corde dolemus, et nihil nobis esset optabilius<sup>1</sup> quam Alamaniam videre pacatam. {250r} Nulla est natio in orbe terrarum adeo abundans nobilissimis principibus sicut illa, et de illis principibus loquor, quorum quilibet posset esse dux exercitus contra Turcos. Est frater<sup>2</sup> imperatoris; est comes palatinus Rheni Fridericus; est Ludovicus dux Bavariae; est iste dux Wilhelmus exercitatus in rebus militaribus, qui esset omnibus acceptus; est Fridericus marchio Brandenburgensis ille, princeps elector; est Albertus frater ejus. Nulla est provincia<sup>3</sup> tot principibus bello aptissimis copiosior.

[8] Et profecto, quamquam aspectus illius nobilissimi ducis Wilhelmi nobis esset multo jucundissimus, tamen auditis illis causis absentiae suae<sup>4</sup> tam urgentissimis ipsum<sup>5</sup> excusatum habemus. Cetera, quae privatim nobis dicenda<sup>6</sup> erunt, libenter audiemus et horam deputabimus, qua illud opportune fieri possit. Et gratias reddimus illi domino duci tam propter sua benemerita quam etiam majorum suorum, et vobis etiam pro<sup>7</sup> personis vestris, qui estis nobis gratissimi.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> optatius T

<sup>2</sup> domini *add.* S, T

<sup>3</sup> est provincia : puericia S, T

<sup>4</sup> tuae N, P

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>6</sup> dicendi N, P

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* S; et T

<sup>8</sup> per saecula saeculorum. Amen *add.* N, P; Diximus *add.* T

### 3. War in Germany

[7] But what you told about the wars and the conflicts between the princes in those regions We deeply regret: We wish for nothing more than to see Germany at peace.

No other nation on Earth is so rich in noble princes - and I<sup>1</sup> am talking about princes each of whom could be general of the army against the Turks. There is the brother of the emperor;<sup>2</sup> there is Count Palatine Friedrich of the Rhine;<sup>3</sup> there is Duke Ludwig of Bavaria;<sup>4</sup> there is your own Duke Wilhelm, highly experienced in military matters and a leader who would be acceptable to all; there is Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg,<sup>5</sup> the Prince Elector; and there is his brother, Albrecht.<sup>6</sup> No other region has so many princes skilled in war.

### 4. Absence of Duke Wilhelm - and his contribution to the crusade

[8] Though We would have been overjoyed at seeing the noble Duke Wilhelm here with Us, We consider him excused now that We have heard the cogent reasons for his absence. The other matters which you will tell Us about in private We shall hear you gladly and We shall make an appointment as soon as possible. And We thank the Lord Duke both for his own merits and for those of his ancestors. We also thank you for being here in person: you are most dear to Us.

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<sup>1</sup> The papal plural of majesty is omitted which is extremely rare in the orations of Pius II (as pope)

<sup>2</sup> Archduke Albrecht of Austria

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich I. der Siegreiche (1425-1476): Count Palatine and Imperial Elector

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig IX. der Reiche (1417-1479): Duke of Bayern-Landshut from 1450 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich II of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) (1413-1471): Margrave and Prince Elector of Brandenburg from 1440 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Albrecht III Achilles (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Prince elector from 1470

## Appendix A: Oration “*Non est propositi*” of Gregor Heimburg (29 October 1459, Mantua)

The date of the oration is 29 October 1459.

The text appears not to have been edited previously. In his work on Gregor Heimburg of 1891, Joachimsohn only published his third oration at Mantua, the “*In refulgenti*”, held on behalf of Archduke Sigismund of Austria, but not the “*Ne cui mirum*” and the “*Non est propositi nostri*” (possibly because of the bad quality of the two manuscripts, he had access to, see above).

### Manuscripts

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos 88, ff. 92v-98r (T)
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**  
clm 522, ff. 146r-150v (P)  
clm 3786, ff. 173r-175r [NB: *Incomplete*]<sup>1</sup>  
clm 4016, ff. 15v-17v (M)
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**  
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 250r-252v (N)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Ottob. lat. 905, ff. 39v-41v (V)
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**  
B VIII 15, ff. 174v-179v (S)

The edition is based on the manuscripts listed above except the incomplete clm 3786.

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. I, ch. 9.

Pagination: after the Salzburg manuscript.

The notes comprise textual variants and references etc.

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<sup>1</sup> The text in this manuscript appears to be closely related to the text in M and V.



# Oratio oratoris serenissimi archiducis Austriae, Alberti, ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem, dominum, dominum nostrum Pium divina providentia papam II<sup>1 2 3</sup>

[1] {174v} Beatissime pater<sup>4</sup>, non est propositi mei<sup>5</sup> in laudibus inclytæ stirpis Austriae coram vestra<sup>6</sup> beatitudine atque hoc<sup>7</sup> sacro conventu pro salutari expeditione contra Turcorum rabiem instituto<sup>8</sup> immorari. Nam si merita majorum<sup>9</sup> et<sup>10</sup> stirpis atque egregia facinora commemorare tentarem, quibus stirps {175r} illa Romani imperii fastigia conscendit, qua etiam virtute<sup>11</sup> ejusdem imperii gubernacula sustentaret<sup>12</sup>, regibus devictis et regnis<sup>13</sup> subactis variisque barbaris nationibus, praecipue<sup>14</sup> illo ferocissimo Bohemiae rege<sup>15</sup> perdomito<sup>16</sup>, quibusque victoriarum gradibus ducatum illum Austriae, qui Theutonico<sup>17</sup> vocabulo regnum orientis nuncupatur, acquisierit<sup>18</sup>, siquidem Carolus ille<sup>19</sup> cognomento Magnus orientem natali sua lingua<sup>20</sup> Oste nuncupavit<sup>21</sup>, rursus etiam qua animi magnitudine freti<sup>22</sup> Thauristos<sup>23</sup> a Thauro - non illo Asiae, sed Germaniae - monte

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<sup>1</sup> S; Oratio sequens ex parte archiducis Austriae M; Oratio G. Heimbürg pro Alberto Austriae duci N; Oratio G. Heimbürg pro Alberto Austriae duce incipit feliciter P; Sequitur oratio facta per doctorem Gregorium Heimbürger Mantue XXIX mensis Octobris ex parte archiducis Alberti Austriae R; Oratio Georgii Heimbürger, Utriusque Censure Doctoris, habita Mantue coram Pio PP II, pro Alberto Archiduce Austriae T; Oratio habita per magnificum et eximium juris utriusque doctorem dominum Gregorium Heimbürg 29. Octobris in aula maiori palatii etc. et consistorio publico V

<sup>2</sup> Gregorius Haynbürg *add.* S

<sup>3</sup> On Albrecht's choice of Heimbürg as his ambassador to Pius, see Langmaier, pp. 520-521: *Der Umstand, dass Albrecht zum dem Literaten auf dem Thron Petri .... ausgerechnet einen Mann entsandte, dessen feindseligen Haltung gegenüber Pius allgemein bekannt war, kann nur so gedeutet werden, dass der Erzherzog stellvertretend für seine Bündnispartner offen Partei gegen den Papst ergriff*

<sup>4</sup> beatissime pater *omit.* M, V

<sup>5</sup> beatissime pater *add.* M, V

<sup>6</sup> tua et passim T [*In connection with beatitudo and sanctitas, T consistently uses tu..*]

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>8</sup> diutius *add.* T

<sup>9</sup> aliorum S, T

<sup>10</sup> ejus M, V

<sup>11</sup> virtus N, P

<sup>12</sup> sustentarit M, S, T, V

<sup>13</sup> regni N, P

<sup>14</sup> precipuo S

<sup>15</sup> regno M, V

<sup>16</sup> perdomitis S, T

<sup>17</sup> Theotonico *et passim* M, V

<sup>18</sup> acquisierint M, N; acquisiverit P

<sup>19</sup> Carolus ille : ille Carolus S, T

<sup>20</sup> lingua N, P

<sup>21</sup> nuncuparit S

<sup>22</sup> reri S, T

<sup>23</sup> Thauristas S, T; Thauriscos V

nuncupatos<sup>1</sup>, quos Moravus interfluit<sup>2</sup>, suae ditioni adjecerit<sup>3</sup>, similiter et Karentanos<sup>4</sup> et Carniolanos<sup>5</sup>, qui Liburnos et Illyricum attingunt, profecto totus ille dies in dicendo transigeretur.

[2] Succurrit et alia ratio, cur non liceat in conspectu beatitudinis vestrae haec omnia recensere, quia illa ipsa beatitudinis vestrae persona, quondam oratoris officio fungens, coram Romano pontifice pro tempore ac<sup>6</sup> illis ipsis patribus<sup>7</sup> reverendissimis, qui nunc sacrum illum coetum<sup>8</sup> sui praesentia concelebrant, summam laudum illius<sup>9</sup> inclytae prosapiae adeo clarissime peroravit, ut nimium<sup>10</sup> audax facinus aggredi<sup>11</sup> rerer<sup>12</sup>, si ea, quae quondam per illustrem et laureatum Aeneam deprompta sunt, quique maximam gloriam ex illis peroratis promeruit, ego, qui nec ejus artis incunabula attigisse me fateor, recenserem<sup>13</sup>. Sed neque in singularibus aut<sup>14</sup> privatis laudibus inclyti archiducis Austriae versari oportet, qui gentem illam ferocissimam foederatorum illorum<sup>15</sup>, qui abjectis totius fidelitatis et reverentiae cultibus sub honesto libertatis titulo clerum et nobilitatem opprimentes suo seseque<sup>16</sup> vocabulo {175v} iuramenti<sup>17</sup> pares vel consortes nuncupare praesumunt bello tentare est<sup>18</sup> ausus<sup>19</sup>.<sup>20</sup> Illos dico, qui antea quinquaginta annis a nemine umquam petiti sunt, et omnes finitimi<sup>21</sup> eorum<sup>22</sup> insolentias sustinuerunt. Illos quippe dico, qui jamdudum, cum adhuc reliquiae veteris concilii<sup>23</sup> Basiliensis inibi se continerent, ante portas ejusdem urbis ceciderunt numero quasi<sup>24</sup> tria millia, quorum tamen ferociam bello attrivit.<sup>25</sup> Et<sup>26</sup> quamquam neuter victus vel victor reputabatur, ipsi tamen coacti fuerunt causam omnem arbitrio comitis

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<sup>1</sup> nuncupato V

<sup>2</sup> inter defluit V

<sup>3</sup> adiecerint M, N, P, S, V

<sup>4</sup> *illeg.* M; Barentanos S, T

<sup>5</sup> Carmelanos N, P; Carnolanes V

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>7</sup> fratribus S

<sup>8</sup> illum coetum : cetum illum M

<sup>9</sup> ipsius S, T

<sup>10</sup> nimis V

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* N, P, S, T

<sup>12</sup> vereor S, T

<sup>13</sup> recensemur S

<sup>14</sup> atque S, T

<sup>15</sup> Contra Suicenses *in marg.* N, P

<sup>16</sup> sese M, T, V

<sup>17</sup> iuramento N, P; iurati T

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>19</sup> est ausus : ausus est N, P

<sup>20</sup> Here Heimburg refers to the Swiss and the Alter Zürichkrieg (1436-1450), during the last phase of which Albrecht commanded the Habsburg troops

<sup>21</sup> finitimas S, T

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>23</sup> consilii S

<sup>24</sup> fere M, V

<sup>25</sup> Heimburg is probably referring to the war 1445-49 with Basel where he won the City of Rheinfelden

<sup>26</sup> ut M

palatini Rheni submittere, et ita a bello discessum est, cuius belli anfractus recensere<sup>1</sup> non reor praesentis temporis esse.<sup>2</sup>

[3] Quod vestra beatitudo<sup>3</sup> nobis concessit ad ambaxiatam<sup>4</sup>, quam suscepimus, pro negotio salutaris expeditionis contra Turcos et<sup>5</sup> Turcmam<sup>6</sup> perfidiam dirigendo<sup>7</sup> et<sup>8</sup> procurando<sup>9</sup> fideliter explicandam, ad quam nunc propero nudis verbis et oratione arida, omni ventositate semota<sup>10</sup> et fuco verborum seposito exsolvendam. Et idcirco vos<sup>11</sup>, turba celeberrima circumstans et maxime Theutonicorum, qui fortasse speratis<sup>12</sup> a me nonnihil oratoriae<sup>13</sup> suavitatis recipere<sup>14</sup>, vereor, ne expectatio vestra spe sua frustretur, quia potissimum oratoriae facultatis genus, quod demonstrativum vocant quodque in laude et vituperio versatur, ab dico et ab aula exigo penitus et expello.

[4] Nunc vero - ut redeat, quo pergebat, oratio, pater beatissime - in primis quidem, cum beatitudinis vestrae persona divino quidem iudicio et sincero hominum assensu, patrum scilicet illorum, qui cardines ecclesiae una simul<sup>15</sup> sustentant, ad summum apostolatus apicem et hanc illam Petri cathedram, quinimmo thronum Dei<sup>16</sup>, provecta erat {176r} illudque gloriosissimo imperatori nostro binis vestris litteris<sup>17</sup> innotuisset, unis<sup>18</sup> quidem privatim<sup>19</sup> et<sup>20</sup> manu personae<sup>21</sup> vestrae ac<sup>22</sup> sub priori titulo familiariter exaratis, aliis vero<sup>23</sup> titulo beatitudinis vestrae et stilo Romani pontificis illustratis, idem ille imperator noster idipsum<sup>24</sup> germano suo, archiduci nostro et<sup>25</sup> sanctitatis<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> censere S, T

<sup>2</sup> On Albrecht's conflict with the Swiss, see Langmeier, pp. 117-121

<sup>3</sup> vestra beatitudo : tua beatitudo T

<sup>4</sup> ambaxiatam M; ad *add.* T

<sup>5</sup> Turcos et *omit.* M, S, T, V

<sup>6</sup> Thurcinam S, T

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* R; dirigende S, T

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* N, P, S, T, V

<sup>9</sup> procurande N, P

<sup>10</sup> scemota V

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>12</sup> sperant T

<sup>13</sup> oratoris P

<sup>14</sup> percipere M, V

<sup>15</sup> simul *omit.* M, T, V; una simul *omit.* N, P

<sup>16</sup> de S, T

<sup>17</sup> epistolis M, V

<sup>18</sup> uni S

<sup>19</sup> privatim *corr. ex* privatis M; privatis P

<sup>20</sup> ac T

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>22</sup> et M; atque V

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>24</sup> adipsum S

<sup>25</sup> ac M, V

<sup>26</sup> beatitudinis T

vestrae<sup>1</sup> oboedientissimo filio, communicavit, ut eum tantae {16v} laetitiae, quae sibi injecta<sup>2</sup> fuerat, redderet participem.<sup>3</sup> Quippe<sup>4</sup> jampridem fratres ipsi germani conciliati<sup>5</sup> fuerant ac super differentiis pridem super illa luctuosa haereditate flebilis memoriae regis Ladislai<sup>6</sup> inter eos exortis plenissime compositis<sup>7</sup> ac taliter, ut gratia inter fratres summo fervore<sup>8</sup> redisset, ut est apud Comicum<sup>9</sup>: *Amantium irae reintegratio est amoris*.<sup>10</sup> Archidux ille tanta perfusus laetitia, ut omni re<sup>11</sup> familiari posthabita illico destinaret ad conspectum vestrae sanctitatis<sup>12</sup> se personaliter conferre<sup>13</sup>. Tamen vicit haec sententia prius homagium illius principatus assumere, qui sibi morte<sup>14</sup> regis Ladislai haereditario jure delatus obtigit in sortem, videlicet Austriam supra flumen Anasum<sup>15</sup> nuncupatam<sup>16</sup>.<sup>17</sup> Est quidem ille Anasus, qui Norica<sup>18</sup> a Pannoniis *disterminat*<sup>19</sup> *arva colonis*.<sup>20</sup> Et quia principatus ille in hominum memoria semper a satrapis et vicariis gubernatus personali praesentia principis sui caruerat, jam exigebat assiduiorem principis superintendentiam<sup>21</sup>.

[5] Quatenus ea, quae pro tempore negligentius<sup>22</sup> tractata fuerant, in debitum ordinem redigerentur, et interea hiemis asperitas supervenit, ideoque<sup>23</sup> princeps ille veris temperiem expectare decrevit, missis tamen oratoribus suis, generoso comite {176v} Rudolfo<sup>24</sup> de Sulcis et alio,

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<sup>1</sup> sanctitatis vestrae : vestre sanctitatis M, V

<sup>2</sup> nunciata V

<sup>3</sup> Heimburg would have seen these letters in his capacity of counsellor to Archduke Albrecht, cf. Joachimsohn, p. 158-159

<sup>4</sup> quidam S; quidem T

<sup>5</sup> consiliati T

<sup>6</sup> Laodisl.. *et passim* T

<sup>7</sup> compositi N, P, V

<sup>8</sup> fenore M, N, P, V

<sup>9</sup> Terentius Afer, Publius (ca. 190-ca. 160 BCE): Roman playwright

<sup>10</sup> Terentius: *Andria*, 555: *amantium irae amoris integratio*

<sup>11</sup> rei M, N, P

<sup>12</sup> vestrae sanctitatis : sanctitatis vestrae M

<sup>13</sup> transferre S, T

<sup>14</sup> mortis S

<sup>15</sup> River Enns

<sup>16</sup> nuncupata N, P

<sup>17</sup> On the division of Ladislaus' inheritance between the Habsburgs, see Langmeier, pp. 454-592

<sup>18</sup> Noricam S

<sup>19</sup> discriminat N, P

<sup>20</sup> Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 1, 213-216: *Fonte cadit modico parvisque in pellitur undis Puniceus **Rubicon**, cum fervida conduit aestas, Perque imas serpit valles et **Gallica certus Limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis***

<sup>21</sup> principis superintendentiam : principem superintendentem S, T

<sup>22</sup> pro tempore negligentius : negligentius pro tempore M

<sup>23</sup> idque M, N, P

<sup>24</sup> Rodulfo S

qui reverentiam illius archiducis nostri coram vestra beatitudine perorando exhiberent<sup>1,2</sup> vere porro repente<sup>3</sup>, ut ait Maro:

*vere novo gelidis canis cum montibus humor  
linquitur et Zephyro<sup>4</sup> putris<sup>5</sup> se gleba resolvit.<sup>6</sup>*

[6] Ecce adveniunt oratores serenissimi ac<sup>7</sup> potentissimi Poloniae regis<sup>8</sup> et<sup>9</sup> nobilissimorum fratrum<sup>10</sup> ordinis de militia<sup>11</sup> beatae Mariae Theutonicorum de Prussia. Haec est illa Prussia, cui nomen fecit Bithyniae rex Prussias<sup>12</sup>, apud quem crudelis Hannibal<sup>13</sup>, dux Poenorum<sup>14</sup>, a populo Romano victus et fugatus exulavit<sup>15</sup> miser<sup>16</sup>, cuius suasu<sup>17</sup> rex Prussias<sup>18</sup> 19 contra populum Romanum bellum suscepit, pugnam publicam, non respondentibus fibris, dum exta<sup>20</sup> conspiceret<sup>21</sup>, inire est ausus. Dum in hunc modum increparetur<sup>22</sup>: “An tu”, inquit, “o Prussias, vitulinae<sup>23</sup> carunculae<sup>24</sup> credere mavis quam imperatori probato?”<sup>25</sup> Confluxit ergo, et superatus Prussias in illam Scythiae partem profugit, ubi Vistola<sup>26</sup> fluvius Sarmaticis montibus ortus<sup>27</sup> illabitur, Germaniam

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<sup>1</sup> exhibere M; exhiberet N, P

<sup>2</sup> Here, Heimburg is probably referring to the joint embassy of obedience of four German princes, including Albrecht VI. It reached the new pope in Siena, in March 1459, and the pope replied to the addresses of the ambassadors with the oration *Si sacrosancto*

<sup>3</sup> tepente V

<sup>4</sup> sephireo P

<sup>5</sup> putrum S, T

<sup>6</sup> Vergilius: Georgica, 1.43-44: *vere novo gelidus canis cum montibus humor liquitur et Zephyro putris se gleba resolvit*

<sup>7</sup> et T

<sup>8</sup> Casimir IV Jagiellon (1427-1492): Grand duke of Lithuania from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death

<sup>9</sup> ac M, V

<sup>10</sup> fratris N, P

<sup>11</sup> de militia omit. S, T

<sup>12</sup> Prusias I Cholos (ca. 243-182 BCE): King of Bithynia from 228 BC to his death

<sup>13</sup> Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BCE): Carthaginian general

<sup>14</sup> Prurorum N, P

<sup>15</sup> exulat S

<sup>16</sup> misere S

<sup>17</sup> *Here ends the text in clm 3786*

<sup>18</sup> Prussius N, P

<sup>19</sup> apud quem ... Prussias omit. T

<sup>20</sup> extera S, T

<sup>21</sup> conspicerent T

<sup>22</sup> increparet N, P

<sup>23</sup> vitilene S

<sup>24</sup> carnuncule P, S, T; carnicale V

<sup>25</sup> Valerius Maximus, 3.11, ext. 6: *Hannibal vero, cum apud regem Prusiam exsularet auctorque ei committendi proelii esset, atque is non idem sibi extis portendi diceret, ‘ain tu?’ inquit; ‘vitulinae carunculae quam imperatori veteri mavis credere?’ (When Hannibal was in exile at the court of king Prusias and advised him to join battle, the king said to him that the entrails told him otherwise. “Really?” said Hannibal, “Would you rather trust a lump of calf flesh than a veteran general?”). See also Cicero: *De divinatione*, 2.4.52*

<sup>26</sup> Bistola M, N, P, V; Bistoria S, T

<sup>27</sup> oceano, qui sinus mare Balticum appellatur add. M

Scythiamque<sup>1</sup> disternens. Cujus quidem Bithynici<sup>2</sup> populi vestigia inibi hodie<sup>3</sup> apparent, quia nonnulli priscae linguae<sup>4</sup> oracula retinentes ab<sup>5</sup> colitis Doricis<sup>6</sup> vaditis<sup>7</sup> et Jonicis populis competenter<sup>8</sup> intelliguntur.

[7] Rex vero ille potentissimus frater germanus est quondam regis Wladislai,<sup>9</sup> qui quondam cum regina inclita<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth,<sup>11</sup> Ladislai<sup>12</sup> regis<sup>13</sup> 14 genitrice, super regno Hungariae dissidens<sup>15</sup>, attamen<sup>16</sup> auctore Juliano sancti angeli cardinali<sup>17</sup>, tunc legationis<sup>18</sup> apostolicae fungenti<sup>19</sup> officio, cum Turco<sup>20</sup> 21, praesentis Turci<sup>22</sup> genitore, bis feliciter dimicavit ac proelia consertis<sup>23</sup> cum hoste manibus<sup>24</sup> bina commisit. Tertio tandem adverso proelio<sup>25</sup> victus gloriose occubuit, cuius nomen ob id per gloriam hodie {177r} spirat. Kazimirus vero, hodie rex<sup>26</sup> regnans, nedum in fratris sui regno successit, sed regnum ipsum ampliavit<sup>27</sup> ultra Sarmatas, Litanos<sup>28</sup>, et Schytas<sup>29</sup> vagi<sup>30</sup> palantes,

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<sup>1</sup> Schytiam S

<sup>2</sup> Buthunici P; Bithimius S; Bythinii T

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>4</sup> ligue N, P

<sup>5</sup> ob N, P

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* M; Dorocis N, P

<sup>7</sup> vodicis N, P

<sup>8</sup> competere N, P

<sup>9</sup> Władysław III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary and Croatia from 1440 until his death at the Battle of Varna

<sup>10</sup> regina inclita : inclita regina M, V

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1409–1442): wife of Albrecht V, King of Germany, Hungary and Bohemia. Daughter of Emperor Sigismund

<sup>12</sup> Wladislai N, P; Laodislai T

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>14</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440-1457): Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia

<sup>15</sup> dissidentes N, P

<sup>16</sup> ac cum S, T

<sup>17</sup> Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal. Mentor and friend of Enea Silvio Piccolomini

<sup>18</sup> legatione N, P

<sup>19</sup> fungentis M, N, P; fungente V

<sup>20</sup> Turca *et passim* T

<sup>21</sup> Murad II (1404-1451): Ottoman sultan

<sup>22</sup> Mehmed II (1332-1481): Ottoman sultan. Conquered Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine Empire

<sup>23</sup> conserta V

<sup>24</sup> manus P

<sup>25</sup> Battle of Varna, 1440

<sup>26</sup> hodie rex : rex hodie M, V

<sup>27</sup> amplificavit M, V

<sup>28</sup> Lidbanos N; Lulbanos P

<sup>29</sup> Schitos N, P

<sup>30</sup> regi V

quorum sedes junctae sunt ac de triennio in triennium. Nonnulli annuatim<sup>1</sup> sedes suas<sup>2</sup> mutant ac rursus crematis rubis et<sup>3</sup> silice<sup>4</sup> tellurem nova fruge fecundant<sup>5</sup>, ut ait Maro<sup>6</sup>:

*Saepe etiam<sup>7</sup> steriles incendere profuit<sup>8</sup> agros  
atque levem stipulam crepitantibus<sup>9</sup> urere flammis<sup>10</sup>.*

Ac Rutenos, qui usque ad Thanaim porriguntur, illum scilicet<sup>11</sup> Europae et Asiae limitem, de quo est illud: *Neque enim plus littora Nili quam Scythicus Thanais primis a Gadibus absunt.*<sup>12</sup>

[8] Orabant autem utriusque partis oratores, quatenus archidux ille causas differentiarum inter partes supradictas in se suscipere et ordine judiciario terminare dignaretur, si<sup>13</sup> amicabili compositione terminari non valerent<sup>14</sup>. Nam paulo antea inter partes convenerat, ut octo a qualibet parte deputati - una cum Johanne Jiskra<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> supernumerario - articulos differentiarum moderarentur, et in quibus ipsi contendentes<sup>17</sup> non consentirent, archidux ille potestatem haberet dirimendi<sup>18</sup>. Archidux siquidem exoratus arbitrium assumpsit, partibus diem<sup>19</sup> dixit, locum designavit<sup>20</sup> scilicet Nurembergam, quo se non dubitavit alios sacri Romani imperii principes adducere posse, quorum consilio fretus partes ipsas ad concordiam reducere<sup>21</sup> aut, si illa deficeret, causam ipsam certiore<sup>22</sup> sententia diffiniret, et haec<sup>23</sup> ad festum nativitatis<sup>24</sup> sancti Johannis

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<sup>1</sup> annatum N

<sup>2</sup> omit. V

<sup>3</sup> ac V

<sup>4</sup> felice M; sillicem S; filice T

<sup>5</sup> fecundavit N, P

<sup>6</sup> Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BC): Roman poet

<sup>7</sup> enim S

<sup>8</sup> profugit M

<sup>9</sup> crepantibus S; cremantibus T

<sup>10</sup> Vergilius: *Georgica*, 1.84-85: *saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis* (Often, too, it has been useful to fire barren fields, and burn the light stubble in crackling flames)

<sup>11</sup> illum scilicet : illumque M

<sup>12</sup> Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 9.413-414: *For the banks of the Nile are not further than the northern Tanais from Gades in the far West*

<sup>13</sup> siquidem M, V

<sup>14</sup> valeret S, T

<sup>15</sup> em.; Y/Isgra codd.

<sup>16</sup> Jan Jiskra of Brandys (ca. 1400-ca. 1469): Moravian noble mercenary captain

<sup>17</sup> condentes S, T

<sup>18</sup> diminuendi S, T

<sup>19</sup> dum S

<sup>20</sup> assignavit S

<sup>21</sup> duceret S; reduceret T

<sup>22</sup> certiori N, P

<sup>23</sup> hoc M, V

<sup>24</sup> omit. N, P, S, T, V

Baptistae, qui terminus pro dignitate personarum et<sup>1</sup> gravitate causae, sed et<sup>2</sup> pro locorum distantia convenire videbatur. Profectus est ergo archidux in diem praefinitum ad locum designatum, sed intercesserunt quaedam {177v} novitates, propter quas de securitate profectionis<sup>3</sup> dubitatum est, et ob id terminus circumductus et here<sup>4</sup> modicum<sup>5</sup> est ea vice commissum.

[9] Fui<sup>6</sup> paulo prolixior hoc<sup>7</sup> loco, quam statueram, pater beatissime, sed sic rei narrandae<sup>8</sup> varietas hortata est. Nam si<sup>9</sup> oboedientissimus ille filius sanctitatis<sup>10</sup> vestrae causam illam terminasset,<sup>11</sup> ut sibi spes maxima pollicita erat, profecto nedum maximae vires illi expeditioni militari, quam nunc agimus, accessissent, sed magna pars totius operis expleta fuisset, siquidem vires illae regis et militiae fratrum Theutonicorum<sup>12</sup>, quae se<sup>13</sup> jam diutius attriverant, simul junctae<sup>14</sup> atque adunatae fuissent, quae terra<sup>15</sup> marique potentes<sup>16</sup> sunt. Nam et ipsius regis solae opes impetum fecerunt in Turcum, priore scilicet bello<sup>17</sup>, quod jam memoravi, et quod propter confirmationem<sup>18</sup> regni Poloniae tutus<sup>19</sup> erat transitus et traductio exercitus in hostem hoc tempore. Quapropter<sup>20</sup> dissensionem, quae est inter gloriosissimum imperatorem nostrum et Matthiam, qui sibi regnum Hungariae usurpavit - Hungaria ipsa nobis et Turcis interjacens - non est usquequo<sup>21</sup> praevia<sup>22</sup>. De quo tamen alio loco latius dicendum reor<sup>23</sup>.

[10] Nunc vero cum poeta dixerim:

*Claudite jam rivos, pueri! Sat prata<sup>24</sup> biberunt.*<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> omit. N, P, V

<sup>2</sup> omit. N, P

<sup>3</sup> pro se ipso S

<sup>4</sup> [sic!]; omit. V

<sup>5</sup> modicum V

<sup>6</sup> sui S

<sup>7</sup> in add. T

<sup>8</sup> rei narrande : narrandae rei M

<sup>9</sup> sibi M

<sup>10</sup> beatitudinis M

<sup>11</sup> here begins a large lacuna which ends at the close of the oration, in section 13, q.v. M

<sup>12</sup> Theotonicorum N, S

<sup>13</sup> sese S, T

<sup>14</sup> incerte S

<sup>15</sup> terre N, P

<sup>16</sup> prepotentes S, T, V

<sup>17</sup> scilicet bello : bello scilicet S, T

<sup>18</sup> conservacionem S

<sup>19</sup> ejus S; equus dub. T

<sup>20</sup> quo propter S, T

<sup>21</sup> usquequaque S, T, V

<sup>22</sup> pervia S, T

<sup>23</sup> vereor S, T

<sup>24</sup> sat prata : superata S, T

<sup>25</sup> Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 3.111: *Shut off the springs now, lads; the meadows have drunk enough*



Verumtamen archidux ille nihilominus<sup>1</sup> Christianae reipublicae et illius desideratissimae expeditionis pro virili sua curam gerens ad regem Poloniae misit, a<sup>2</sup> quo responsum<sup>3</sup> tale<sup>4</sup> recepit, quod rex ipse de proximo suos oratores plenissime instructos<sup>5</sup> mittere velit, tum<sup>6</sup> quibus non tantum<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> super differentiis inter illum et fratres militiae, sed etiam de illis viribus in Turcum vertendis<sup>9</sup> tractabitur<sup>10</sup> plenissime. In<sup>11</sup> his agendis<sup>12</sup>, pater beatissime, totus Junii mensis effluxit. {178r} Verum interea inter non parvos illarum partium principes simultas<sup>13</sup> enisit<sup>14</sup>, et antequam reliqui<sup>15</sup> principes<sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> intervenirent<sup>18</sup>, tumultus excrevit, et ex una parte tam subito ex omni agro, ex omni rure<sup>19</sup> ac villis et oppidis finitimis catervae coactae sunt, quibus tamen nonnulli<sup>20</sup> militares viri praefecti<sup>21</sup> sunt, qui rapacidarum hujusmodi excursiones aliquatenus cohiberent. Quod ideo sic negligenter<sup>22</sup> tractatum reor esse<sup>23</sup>, quia principes finitimi partibus illorum adversantium hinc inde foederati fuerunt, quod<sup>24</sup> quisque magis intentus esset, si quomodo<sup>25</sup> parti suae opem ferre posset, quam ut iras contententium principum molliendo temperaret. Solus ille vestrae sanctitatis<sup>26</sup> filius oboedientissimus<sup>27</sup>, archidux Albertus, omnes ingenii vires ad frenandum iras et molliendum<sup>28</sup> principum animos convertit.

[11] Accesserunt tandem et alii simul et beatitudinis vestrae nuntius ob id a sanctitate vestra transmissus periculosum existimantes, si vulgus indomitum passim arma tractaret et semel in

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>2</sup> ex P

<sup>3</sup> rursum N

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>6</sup> super S, T; cum V

<sup>7</sup> *em.*; dum codd.

<sup>8</sup> non tantum : nedum V

<sup>9</sup> vertendum S

<sup>10</sup> tractabatur S

<sup>11</sup> de S

<sup>12</sup> agendum S, T

<sup>13</sup> dissensiones T

<sup>14</sup> emersit P

<sup>15</sup> simultas enisit ... reliqui *omit.* S

<sup>16</sup> reliqui principes : princeps reliqui P

<sup>17</sup> enisit et ... principes *omit.* T

<sup>18</sup> intervenerunt T

<sup>19</sup> ex omni rure *omit.* N, P

<sup>20</sup> tamen nonnulli : nonnulli tamen V

<sup>21</sup> profecti V

<sup>22</sup> sic negligenter : negligenter sic N, P

<sup>23</sup> reor esse : vereor esse S, T, V

<sup>24</sup> ut V

<sup>25</sup> quo nimis N, P

<sup>26</sup> vestrae sanctitatis : sanctitatis tue T

<sup>27</sup> obsequentissimus P

<sup>28</sup> moliendos N, V

ferociam ruens revocari non posset - ut alio loco Caesar de Pompejo<sup>1</sup> loquens ait: *Neque enim semel ore<sup>2</sup> receptus pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces.*<sup>3</sup> Exploratum namque est hujusmodi<sup>4</sup> rapacitas<sup>5</sup>, qui cum hoste manum consere auderent, cum semel licentiam diripendarum alienarum operum sibi sumpserint, non amplius mansuescere et ad rura vel operas pristinas redire<sup>6</sup> recusant, quemdamodum in bello servili populus Romanus furorem servorum expertus est. Itaque archidux ille bono dolo fretus est, quo sine fraude utrique<sup>7</sup> parti blandiendo obscuris quibusdam verbis et sententiarum ambiguitate ipsis altercantibus<sup>8</sup> satisfecit.

[12] Sic enim<sup>9</sup> pro tempore faciendum erat, quatenus illae catervae tumultuantes {178v} ad rura, villas et oppida sua redirent: jam enim messis in horreis recondite, et rursus<sup>10</sup> terra vomere proscindenda, rastris radenda et frumenta sulcis denuo commendanda erant, et defuerant manus poscentibus arvis. Agro siquidem ab armis liberato, nondum omnis suspicio belli sublata erat, neque erat sane difficile<sup>11</sup> ex illis vel aliis<sup>12</sup> villis et oppidis<sup>13</sup> passim et sine delicto<sup>14</sup> quoslibet vilissimos ad praedam evocare. Et idcirco archidux ipse facultatem nondum habuit sese ab illis locis procul elongandi<sup>15</sup>, ne scintillae prioris<sup>16</sup> flammae latentes in cinere rursus enicarent<sup>17</sup> novas excitando<sup>18</sup> 19 flammam. Et idcirco a Nuremberga quandoque discedens, illac subito reversus est, ut si quid dissidii inter principes contendentes emergeret, praesertim ex illa obscura verborum continuitate et ambiguitate sententiarum, id totum interventu suo tolleretur a<sup>20</sup> medio. Semper etenim pax illa<sup>21</sup> suspecta habita fuit, ut nonnisi nivibus et glacie et ipsa hiemis asperitate firmari<sup>22</sup> putaretur. Itaque archidux ille, ne quid suae culpae ascriberetur, intra<sup>23</sup> fines illos esse continere<sup>24</sup> decrevit.

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; Pt(h)olomeo codd. [*Either error of Piccolomini or of some early scribe*]

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>3</sup> Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 1.331-332: *Nullus semel ore receptus pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces* (*When blood has once been swallowed, it never permits the throat it has tainted to lose its cruelty*)

<sup>4</sup> hujusmodi S, T

<sup>5</sup> rapacitas N, P

<sup>6</sup> reddere S

<sup>7</sup> utique N, P

<sup>8</sup> altricantibus S

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>10</sup> rursus S, T

<sup>11</sup> difficilis S

<sup>12</sup> odiis P

<sup>13</sup> oppidum N, P

<sup>14</sup> delecte N, P; delectu V

<sup>15</sup> elongandum S, T

<sup>16</sup> peioris S

<sup>17</sup> enicant S

<sup>18</sup> excitarent S

<sup>19</sup> rursus enicarent ... excitando : revivisserent et excitarent T

<sup>20</sup> e S, V; ex T

<sup>21</sup> pax illa : papilla N, P; parum illa T

<sup>22</sup> firmare S

<sup>23</sup> inter N, P

<sup>24</sup> contineri P

[13] Nos<sup>1</sup> vero, oratores suos, ante pedes sanctitatis vestrae prostratos destinavit, tradens nobis mandatum plenissimum ad omnia, quae pro illa<sup>2</sup> salutari et desideratissima expeditione contra Turcorum furiam compescendam necessaria fuerint seu quodlibet<sup>3</sup> opportuna juxta seriem praesentis mandati, quod et nos beatitudini vestrae et sacro<sup>4</sup> coetui patrum, quos sanctitas<sup>5</sup> vestra convocavit, praesentamus audiendum, quatenus<sup>6</sup> sinceritas archiducis nostri ex illius tenore simul et ex his<sup>7</sup>, quae dicturi sumus, clareat evidenter.

{179r} *Hinc*<sup>8</sup> *lectum est mandatum et*<sup>9</sup> *postea dictum est:*<sup>10 11</sup>

Ex<sup>12</sup> serie<sup>13</sup> mandati<sup>14</sup>, beatissime pater<sup>15</sup>, plenitudo potestatis nostrae satis<sup>16</sup> liquet. Quod autem in illo tres personae sunt nuncupatae, nil officit traditae<sup>17</sup> facultati, quae nobis conjunctim et divisim extat<sup>18</sup> demandata. Sed quantum honestas requirit, tertiam personam excusare oportet, quae nunc abest. Id ideo est, quod ipse decanatum Augustensem tenuit sub pensione praedecessori<sup>19</sup> suo, auctoritate sedis apostolicae reservata, qui jampridem - me scilicet in illis partibus agente - vita functus<sup>20</sup> est, propter quod onera quaedam illi collegae nostro<sup>21</sup> designato supervenerunt, sed non acerba, quia grandi pensione liberatus est. Habet ergo lugere mortem ejus, cui successit, quod imprime<sup>22</sup> facere licet<sup>23</sup>, quia non idcirco reviviscet<sup>24</sup>. Ipsam autem mandati amplitudinem, quemadmodum nobis tradita et<sup>25</sup> illis<sup>26</sup> nunc nuper lectis litteris<sup>27</sup> explicata est, largissime

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<sup>1</sup> illos T

<sup>2</sup> quae pro illa : illa que pro S, T

<sup>3</sup> quomodolibet N, P

<sup>4</sup> *Here ends the lacuna, which began in section 8. Two lines almost illegible* M

<sup>5</sup> beatitudo M, T; eadem beatitudo V

<sup>6</sup> quamvis S

<sup>7</sup> illis S, T

<sup>8</sup> hic M; omit. V

<sup>9</sup> omit. V

<sup>10</sup> *Two almost illegible lines* M

<sup>11</sup> hinc lectum ... dictum est omit. T

<sup>12</sup> *illegible word add.* M

<sup>13</sup> hujus add. V

<sup>14</sup> serie mandati : mandati serie M

<sup>15</sup> beatissime pater : pater beatissime M, N, P, V

<sup>16</sup> omit. T

<sup>17</sup> nobis add. M

<sup>18</sup> ex tot N

<sup>19</sup> precessori T

<sup>20</sup> vita functus : verificatus M

<sup>21</sup> nostre N, P

<sup>22</sup> impune P

<sup>23</sup> omit. S, T

<sup>24</sup> reminiscent N, P

<sup>25</sup> ex V

<sup>26</sup> ipsis add. M, S, T

<sup>27</sup> omit. P

prosequemur<sup>1</sup>. Neque enim decet liberalissimi principis oratores<sup>2</sup> et ministros in ipsa officii gestione tenaces inveniri. Offerimus itaque principem nostrum ad munera quaecumque subeunda, quae<sup>3</sup> per sanctitatem vestram et<sup>4</sup> celeberrimos viros, quos ipsa beatitudo<sup>5</sup> vestra deputabit, decreta fuerint. Sed et quascumque functiones suscipiendas et in summa ductoris an militis vice fungatur, vestrum sit arbitrium. Cetera vero, *quae ad rem attinent*<sup>6 7</sup> - ut est apud Comicum - intus transigentur. Nam impedimenta, quae<sup>8</sup> illustrissimus archidux noster<sup>9</sup>, sanctitatis vestrae oboedientissimus, subesse suspicatur, quo minus roboris accedat expeditioni copiarum Christianae militiae. Sed et ea, quae profectioni et traductioni {179v} exercitus Christiani afficere<sup>10</sup> possunt, sed et<sup>11</sup> de cautelis, quibus utendum est, ac modis, quibus haec impedimenta caveantur simul et tollantur e medio, ac de reliquis circumstantiis, quas in publicum proferre non expedit, pro loci<sup>12</sup> ac personarum qualitate<sup>13</sup> dicetur. Et ita ut ad laudem Dei et gloriam vestrae sanctitatis<sup>14</sup>, vicarii domini et salvatoris domini<sup>15</sup> nostri Jesu Christi, cedat<sup>16</sup>, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum<sup>17</sup>. Amen.

*Steti quandoque tectus caput, pater beatissime, ne catharus impediret me pronuntiantem. Quod contra morem feci, necessitas excuset, et indulgeat clementia pietatis vestrae.*<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> prosequimur N, P

<sup>2</sup> oratores *corr. ex actores* N; actores M, S, V R

<sup>3</sup> sibi V

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* N, P

<sup>5</sup> beatitas M, S, T

<sup>6</sup> pertinent V

<sup>7</sup> Terentius: *Heautontimorumenos*, 75: *ea quae nil ad te attinent*

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* N, P

<sup>9</sup> illustrissimus archidux noster : archidux noster illustrissimus V

<sup>10</sup> abiicere S; obesse T; officere V

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* N, P, T

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>13</sup> personarum qualitate : qualitate personarum T

<sup>14</sup> vestrae sanctitatis : sanctitatis vestre S; sanctitatis tue T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* M, N, P

<sup>16</sup> cedet N, P; cedant V

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>18</sup> steti quandoque ... vestrae : dixi T; *omit.* V

## Appendix B: Oration “*Ne cui mirum*” of Gregor Heimburg to Pope Pius II (12 November 1459, Mantua)

The text appears not to have been published previously.

The present edition is based on five manuscripts:

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos 88, ff. 78v-84v (**T**)
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**  
clm 522, ff. 140r-144r (**P**)  
clm 4016, ff. 13r-15v (**M**)
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**  
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 247r-249r (**N**)
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**  
B VIII 15, ff. 139v-144r (**S**)

The notes comprise textual variants (black) and references etc. (green).

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. I, ch. 9.

The date of the oration is given in the oration itself, cf. section 17, where Heimburg said that it was held on the day after 11 November, i.e. on 12 November.

Pagination: after the Salzburg manuscript.

The notes comprise textual variants and references etc.

# Oratio oratoris illustrissimi ducis Saxonii Wilhelmi ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Pium papam II. habita in consistorio Mantuano secreto<sup>1</sup>

[1] {139v} {Ne<sup>2</sup> cui mirum<sup>3</sup> esse videatur<sup>4</sup>, cur ego, qui jam fere mensem in curia sanctitatis vestrae<sup>5</sup> exegi, neque ab illustrissimo principe Wilhelmo<sup>7</sup>, Saxoniae duce<sup>8</sup>, recenter advenio, partes oratoris assumpserim, id paucis eloquar. Dehinc pergam suscepti muneris explere functionem.

[2] Fuit huic operi praefectus vir quidam insignis ingenio, lingua<sup>9</sup> disertus<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> et auctoritate praeclarus. {140r} Illo autem aliis negotiis inopinatis impedito ego, qui ducum Saxoniae causas pro tempore coram imperiali splendore disceptavi, suffectus sum. Huic accedit illa confinitas, quod ambo duces<sup>12</sup> inclytæ<sup>13</sup> domui Austriae nuptialibus facibus<sup>14</sup> clarissimarum uxorum illius domus filiarum et affinitate conjugali devincti sunt. Unde et nos, qui oratorum fungimur officio alterius<sup>15</sup>, vicissim decet juvare subsidiis. His fretus ad rem descendo, pater beatissime.

[3] Et<sup>16</sup> in primis, si gentis Saxonicae primordia narrare statuero, a Gothis profecto ducendum<sup>17</sup> erit exordium, quos, etsi Claudius Ptolomaeus, orbis terrae descriptor egregius, ex insula<sup>18</sup> Scantia<sup>19</sup> seu Scandomia<sup>20</sup> processisse referat, quam Plinius secundus, litterarum saecularium eruditissimus,

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<sup>1</sup> *No title* M; Oratio clarissimi viri Gregorii Heimburg pro G. duce Saxoniae N; Oratio viri clarissimi Gregorii Heimburg pro G. duce Saxonie incipit feliciter P; Oratio Georgii Heymberger Juris utriusque Doctoris habita Mantuae Coram Pio Pape Secundo Pro Wilhelmo, illustrissimo Saxoniae duce T

<sup>2</sup> beatissime pater ne M, N, P

<sup>3</sup> mirandum S

<sup>4</sup> videntur P

<sup>5</sup> tue T [*T systematically uses tua for vestra in connection with beatitudo and sanctitas*]

<sup>6</sup> sanctitatis vestrae : vestre sanctitatis M, N

<sup>7</sup> Guilhel... *et passim* M, N, P

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* N, P

<sup>9</sup> *ligiva aut ligua aut ligwa passim* N, P

<sup>10</sup> desertus N

<sup>11</sup> lingua disertus : disertus lingua P

<sup>12</sup> The brothers Friedrich II. der Sanftmütige (1412-1464) and Wilhelm III. der Tapfere (1425-1482)

<sup>13</sup> inclito N, P

<sup>14</sup> fascibus S, T

<sup>15</sup> alternis N, P

<sup>16</sup> Saxones ex Gothis M; Primordium gentis Saxoniae *in marg.* N; De origine Saxorum *in marg.* P; Saxonum origo *in marg.* T

<sup>17</sup> dicendum S, T

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>19</sup> Scandavia M; Scandia T

<sup>20</sup> alias Scandinaria *add.* S

refert in Oceano arcto<sup>1</sup> situatam in modum folii<sup>2</sup> cedri lateribus latis et pandis<sup>3</sup> frugibus certe sterilem propter aquilonarium et<sup>4</sup> borealium ventorum rigorem, qui viscera terrae stringunt, ne vivax ille ac<sup>5</sup> spirituosus terrae vapor exhalari possit in herbas, e contrario autem populis maxime fecundam<sup>6</sup> quidem<sup>7</sup>. Eorum corpora austriis<sup>8</sup> flatibus non laxantur<sup>9</sup>, ne spiritus vitales evolent<sup>10</sup>, ideoque frugum inopia et rursus hominum abundantia<sup>11</sup> ex ea tamquam vagina nationum processisse populos orbem terrae<sup>12</sup> peragrantes, Gothos, Gethas<sup>13</sup>, Gepidas, Ostrogothos, Wisegothos<sup>14</sup>, Massagetas<sup>15</sup>, Vandalos<sup>16</sup>, Winnulos<sup>17</sup>, Rugos<sup>18</sup>, Herulos, Turalingos<sup>19</sup> atque Hunnos<sup>20</sup>.

[4] Tum<sup>21</sup> quia constat eos totum orbem terrae perbachatos<sup>22</sup> sedes in Africa locasse, ut gloriosus ille Dei monarcha Constantinus Magnus attestatur, in his quae<sup>23</sup> de officiis p.p.<sup>24</sup> Africae<sup>25</sup> scribuntur, in illa constitutione<sup>26</sup>, *Quas laudes et gratias Deo et domino nostro Jesu Christo reddamus, nec mente concipere nec lingua proferre valemus, etc.*<sup>27</sup>, {140v} dum Libyae recuperationem inter ingentia gloriae suae memoranda enumerat, subdit dicens: “*Et Vandalorum crudelissimam gentem devicimus etc.*” Vandalos autem ex Gothis processisse summorum virorum auctoritate munitus supra memoravi. Italiam vero postea Gothorum imperio paruisse nullus ignorat, donec Justinianus imperator duce Belisario<sup>28</sup> primum, postea vero per Narsetem<sup>29</sup> patricium illos

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<sup>1</sup> arctoi M; arctor alias arctico seu arcturo S; arctico T

<sup>2</sup> solii S

<sup>3</sup> alias paucis *add.* S

<sup>4</sup> atque N

<sup>5</sup> et T

<sup>6</sup> secundam S

<sup>7</sup> quod S, T

<sup>8</sup> anserniis S

<sup>9</sup> relaxantur T

<sup>10</sup> volant N, P

<sup>11</sup> habundantie S

<sup>12</sup> terrarum T

<sup>13</sup> Gothas N, P

<sup>14</sup> Visogothos T

<sup>15</sup> Massagethas M, N, P; Masogothos S; Masagethas T

<sup>16</sup> Wandal... *et passim* M, N, P, S

<sup>17</sup> Winulos M; Wunilas N; Wunilos P; Wynnulos S; Vinulos T

<sup>18</sup> Ruges S

<sup>19</sup> Curtilingas T

<sup>20</sup> Hunos M, N, P, S, T

<sup>21</sup> tamen M, N, P

<sup>22</sup> perbachatas N, P

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* N, P

<sup>24</sup> p. pre. T

<sup>25</sup> Affri P

<sup>26</sup> constitutioni N, P

<sup>27</sup> et usui M; et ita N, P, S

<sup>28</sup> Bilisar.. *et passim* N

<sup>29</sup> Narsatem N, P

Italia pepulit et exegit. Hic est ille Belisarius, ad quem sacratissimus<sup>1</sup> imperator Justinianus scribit<sup>2</sup> exemplar jurisjurandi, quod praestetur<sup>3</sup> ab his, qui administrationem<sup>4</sup> suscipiunt provinciarum.

[5] Narses vero est, qui<sup>5</sup> rebus omnibus in Italia pacatis, dum a populo Romano ad bella gerenda stimulabatur, insolenti populo respondit, bella petere, ubi non subest causa vel occasio, id esse retibus aureis piscari<sup>6</sup>, ubi ex ruptura retis plus jacturae quam ex captura speratur<sup>7</sup> emolimenti, hanc Ciceronis sententiam secutus: *in adeundis periculis imitandam esse consuetudinem medicorum, qui leviter aegrotantes leviter curant*<sup>8</sup>, *gravioribus autem morbis implicitis ancipites curas adhibere solent*,<sup>9</sup> et hoc<sup>10</sup> ita scilicet si<sup>11</sup> plus adipiscare re<sup>12</sup> explicata<sup>13</sup> boni quam<sup>14</sup> ad dubitata mali. Et idcirco a Romanis Narses “castratus” nuncupatus est, quem Theodora Augusta, consors Justiniani, laccessivit dicens eum inter puellas velle collocare, ut telam unam<sup>15</sup> texeret<sup>16</sup>. Respondit Narses: “Talem tibi telam<sup>17</sup> ordiar<sup>18</sup>, quam reliqua vita tua retexere non poteris.<sup>19</sup>” Missis igitur<sup>20</sup> fructibus arborum in Pannoniam allexit eos<sup>21</sup> in Liguriam, qui ex longitudine barbae Liguriaie dederunt<sup>22</sup> nomen Lombardiae<sup>23</sup>, quo usque in praesentem diem ab omnibus nuncupatur<sup>24</sup>.

[6] Quis vero putaret hanc insulam Scantiam strictam et angustam tot gentes efflare potuisse, nisi populorum {141r} adjacentium auxilio adjuta fuisset, quos Saxones esse plane constat. Nam et Daciam non dixerim illam ripensem<sup>25</sup>,<sup>26</sup> sed mediterraneam<sup>27</sup>, quas ambas Justinianus ille

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<sup>1</sup> sanctissimus S, T

<sup>2</sup> Justinianus scribit : scribit Justinianus P

<sup>3</sup> prestatur P, S, T

<sup>4</sup> administrationes M, N, P

<sup>5</sup> est qui : et S, T

<sup>6</sup> Quod sit bella petere ubi non subest causa vel occasio *in marg.* N

<sup>7</sup> speramus M; speretur S, T

<sup>8</sup> curare M

<sup>9</sup> Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.24.53: *Quapropter in adeundis periculis consuetudo imitanda medicorum est, qui leviter aegrotantes leniter curant, gravioribus autem morbis periculosas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur*

<sup>10</sup> hac S, T

<sup>11</sup> se S, T

<sup>12</sup> omit. S, T

<sup>13</sup> explicata M, N, P

<sup>14</sup> omit. N, P

<sup>15</sup> una M, N, P

<sup>16</sup> texerat N, P

<sup>17</sup> talem tibi telam : tibi telam talem S; tibi telam talem volo T

<sup>18</sup> ordinare S, T

<sup>19</sup> *em.*; poterit codd.

<sup>20</sup> ergo M

<sup>21</sup> eis N, P, S

<sup>22</sup> dederit N, P; dedederat S; dederant T

<sup>23</sup> Lompardie T; Longobardiae T

<sup>24</sup> nuncupantur M, N, P

<sup>25</sup> Ripheum M, S; Riphensem P; Ripheam T

<sup>26</sup> The Roman province of Dacia Ripensis, in the diocese of Dacia, cf. Burns, pp. 60, 62

<sup>27</sup> The Roman province of Dacia Mediterranea, also in the diocese of Dacia



sacratissimus commemorat in his, quae de ecclesiasticis titulis scripsit, dum eas ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae subesse constituit. Quin<sup>1</sup> et Sueciam et Norvegiam Saxonica lingua pronuntiare constat, quae Scantiam illam circumcingunt. Et in summa omnes populi circumjacentes ac maria quaeque Saxonibus habitantur et exercentur. Ideoque omnem Saxoniam et quidquid demum<sup>2</sup> suo vocabulo Gothum vocat, allusione vocabuli Gothos ausim<sup>3</sup> nuncupare. Nam et Theutates a<sup>4</sup> Theutate dictos<sup>5</sup> auctor est Annaeus Lucanus, qui lingua sua Martem dixere Theutatem,<sup>6</sup> idque Theutatum<sup>7</sup> sortiti sunt nomen.

[7] Omnis itaque lingua Theutonica<sup>8</sup> a Saxonibus derivata vires pro tempore per totum orbem terra marique longe lateque porrexit, quamquam<sup>9</sup> alii<sup>10</sup> arbitrentur Saxones a Graecis fluxisse, qui lingua Jonica saxa gladiatorem nuncupare dicuntur. Sed utcumque gentes illae<sup>11</sup> et populi translati sunt, meo quidem iudicio<sup>12</sup> omnia Gothorum egregia facinora per Saxones reor esse patrata omnesque Theutates<sup>13</sup> seu Theutonicos<sup>14</sup> ex Saxonibus derivatos. Nam citra<sup>15</sup> Saxoniam Franci orientales ex Sicambris<sup>16</sup> orti sunt, ac<sup>17</sup> Suevi ex Gallis, qui cum Allobrogibus in Italiam venere duce Brenno regulo, quem quidam historicorum<sup>18</sup> ajunt Zenonem<sup>19</sup>, alii referunt Senenorum<sup>20</sup> ducem extitisse. Idcirco omnem Theutonicam<sup>21</sup> linguam a Saxonibus propagatam affirmo, originaliter autem a Theutate, idest Marte, denominatam esse.

[8] Hi Saxones, cum tricentis<sup>22</sup> fere annis continua successione imperii Romani gubernacula tenuerunt, quas largitates {141v} in Romanam contulerunt ecclesiam, nedum ipsa<sup>23</sup> historiarum

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<sup>1</sup> quam S, T

<sup>2</sup> Deo S; de T

<sup>3</sup> ausum S

<sup>4</sup> et S, T

<sup>5</sup> dictus S, T

<sup>6</sup> tentatim S

<sup>7</sup> Theutati S, T

<sup>8</sup> Theotonica N, P, S

<sup>9</sup> quicquid S, T

<sup>10</sup> Gotfridus Viterbiensis *in marg.* T

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* N, P, S, T

<sup>12</sup> meo quidem iudicio : in iudicem S, T

<sup>13</sup> Thentates S

<sup>14</sup> Theutones S, T

<sup>15</sup> nunc S; inter T

<sup>16</sup> Sicambris *corr. ex Sicanis* P, T; Sicanis S

<sup>17</sup> et M

<sup>18</sup> historiarum S

<sup>19</sup> Senonensem S; Senonum T

<sup>20</sup> Suevorum M, S, T

<sup>21</sup> Theotonicam M, S

<sup>22</sup> cum tricentis : centum S, T

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* S

fides, sed et sacri canones attestantur. Nam<sup>1</sup> etsi Nicolaus papa III. commendat<sup>2</sup> illam donationem<sup>3</sup>, quam gloriosus ille Dei monarcha Constantinus in persona sancti Silvestri Romanae ecclesiae traditur contulisse - ut est in canone *Scripturae*<sup>4</sup> (semper enim turpe duxi in conspectu Romani pontificis leges sacras vel etiam humanas per quotam allegare) - quia<sup>5</sup> tamen<sup>6</sup> constat nedum urbem Romanam<sup>7</sup>, sed omnem Italiam primum a Gothis, dehinc a<sup>8</sup> Hunnis, ac rursus a Gothis subactam esse, ab Aistulfo<sup>9</sup> Gotho usque ad Attilam, Hunnorum regem, et rursus ab illo usque ad Theodoricum, regem ultimum Gothorum, qui etiam patricium et amicum<sup>10</sup> Boethium relegavit, quae seriatim enarrare et per tempora distinguere nimis foret prolixum.

[9] Profecto nisi fides et liberalitas Saxonica rem ipsam consolidasset, vetus illa donatio cassa remansisset.<sup>11</sup> Nam et Justinianus urbem recuperatam per Belisarium administravit, quem et successores ejus secuti sunt usque ad imperia Saxonica, quae satis clare probantur in illis canonibus sub distinctione LXIII locatis<sup>12</sup>, scilicet *Ego Ludovicus* et qui sequuntur. Hic mihimet licentiam<sup>13</sup> usurpavi distinctionem magistri Gratiani<sup>14</sup> allegare, quia originalia obliturata<sup>15</sup> sunt.

[10] Neque tamen<sup>16</sup> ista commemoravi<sup>17</sup>, ut sedem apostolicam Saxonibus obnoxiam ostendere velim, sed quo magis sanctitati vestrae despondeam, quod dux iste<sup>18</sup> a<sup>19</sup> veterum Saxonum virtute non degenerabit<sup>20</sup>, ut illud Comicum<sup>21</sup> evitem<sup>22</sup>: *Istec*<sup>23</sup> *commemoratio*<sup>24</sup> *exprobatio*<sup>25</sup> *est*

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<sup>1</sup> illum M

<sup>2</sup> commendat S, T

<sup>3</sup> devotionem T

<sup>4</sup> scriptura M, N, P

<sup>5</sup> qui S

<sup>6</sup> cum S, T

<sup>7</sup> Romam T

<sup>8</sup> ab M, S, T

<sup>9</sup> Athulfo N, P; Astulfo S; Atanulpho T

<sup>10</sup> omit. S

<sup>11</sup> Note that, in spite of Valla's and Cusa's criticism of the authenticity of the Donation of Constantine, Heimburg appears to accept it, though he rightly claims that papal control of the Patrimony of Saint Peter had lapsed during the Goth period and had only been restored by later princes, in casu, Saxon emperors, e.g. Otto I in 962, cf. Weinfurter, p. 65

<sup>12</sup> vocatis S; collatis T

<sup>13</sup> licentia N, P

<sup>14</sup> omit. S, T

<sup>15</sup> abilimeata S; oblitterata T

<sup>16</sup> cum S

<sup>17</sup> commemoram N, P

<sup>18</sup> ille P

<sup>19</sup> ex P

<sup>20</sup> degenerabat S, T

<sup>21</sup> Comicum *in marg.* N; Terentius *in marg.* P

<sup>22</sup> evitam S

<sup>23</sup> ista S, T

<sup>24</sup> Commemoratio *in marg.* N

<sup>25</sup> exprobratio *corr. ex* exprobratio S

*immemoris beneficii*.<sup>1</sup> Nempe cujus fidem singularem ac praecipuam nuper Romana<sup>2</sup> experta est<sup>3</sup> ecclesia<sup>4</sup> in illo dissidio, cum quidam<sup>5</sup> princeps extra<sup>6</sup> ecclesiam {142r} Romanam secedens<sup>7</sup> sibi<sup>8</sup> papalem<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> titulum adscivit<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup>: ille ipse dux<sup>13</sup> Wilhelmus de primis et ante alios principes se pro justitia Eugenii papae<sup>14</sup> declaravit, in qua ceteris principibus virtute praeluxit.

[11] Nunc<sup>15</sup> ad injunctum<sup>16</sup> munus descendens, in primis deprecor<sup>17</sup>: si novo et insolito more dicendi utar, quam apud Romanum pontificem fieri consuevit, ignosce Theutonico<sup>18</sup> ritui<sup>19</sup>, qui etsi a stilo Romano paululum declinet, tamen a pietate naturae non abhorret, quemadmodum apud Valerium cognomento Maximum in his, quae de pietate filiorum erga parentes de Scythis scriptum et memoriae traditum, quin<sup>20</sup> et perpetuo memorandum reperimus, quomodo Scythae barbari Dario<sup>21</sup> bellum inferenti responderunt *sciturum eum, cum Scythae ad monumenta parentum*<sup>22</sup> *pervenirent, quemadmodum proeliari solerent*.<sup>23</sup> Quis – oro – gentes nullis litteris institutas<sup>24</sup> sic respondere docuit? Sed Maximi Valerii<sup>25</sup> est: *quid ergo doctrina proficit? Profecto, ut politiora, non ut meliora fiant ingenia*.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Terentius: *Andria*, 43-44: *nam istaec commemoratio quasi exprobratiost immemori benefici*

<sup>2</sup> Romanam S

<sup>3</sup> experta est : est experta P

<sup>4</sup> ecclesiam S

<sup>5</sup> quidem N

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>7</sup> cedens T

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* M; papalem N, P

<sup>10</sup> papalis sedis S, T

<sup>11</sup> abscivit S; ascivit T

<sup>12</sup> Heimburg here refers to the schism which arose when the rump council of Basel in 1438-1439 declared Pope Eugenius IV as deposed and elected Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy as (anti)pope under the name of Felix V

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>14</sup> Eugenii papae : pape Eugenii M

<sup>15</sup> 2nda pars orationis *in marg.* N, P

<sup>16</sup> ad minentium alias adimminens S

<sup>17</sup> precor T

<sup>18</sup> Theotonico P, S; Thetonico N

<sup>19</sup> vicem S, T

<sup>20</sup> qui N, P; quam S, T

<sup>21</sup> Dadrie S

<sup>22</sup> patrum M, N, P

<sup>23</sup> Valerius Maximus, 5.7, ext. 5: *cum ad parentium suorum monumenta venisset, sciturum quemadmodum Scythae proeliari solerent*

<sup>24</sup> institutos N, P

<sup>25</sup> Maximi Valerii *em.*; maxima lex naturae codd.

<sup>26</sup> Valerius Maximus, 5.7, ext. 5: *quid ergo doctrina proficit? ut politiora scilicet, non ut meliora fiant*

[12] Ita dux noster Theutonico<sup>1</sup> ritu beatitudinem vestram duxit<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> alloquendam. Vestra quoque clementissima benignitas, illo ritu quondam assueta, tanto clementius accipiet illi principi morigerando, qui suis oratoribus sic alloqui<sup>4</sup> praecepit. Ergo princeps ille sui recommendatione humiliter praelibata ad beatorum pedum<sup>5</sup> oscula operis et obsequiis suis<sup>6</sup> oboedienter oblatis sanctitatis vestrae<sup>7</sup> salutem et prosperitatem optat<sup>8</sup> cum sanitate corporali, qua beatitudo vestra hilarior et alacrior regimini universalis ecclesiae intendere et felicem expeditionem contra Turcos votive valeat efficere.

[13] Deinde ad scripta et requisitiones vestrae<sup>9</sup> beatitudinis supra sua comparatione et personali interessentia praesentis contionis {142v} pro salutari expeditione contra Turcos feliciter conficienda respondet, in primis excusando sese cur ad illa non responderat<sup>10</sup>. Nam cum maximo ardore flagraret<sup>11</sup> summa cupidine parendi monitis apostolicis, et tamen<sup>12</sup> ipsarum rerum et negotiorum varietas non sineret, ipse vero tam pertinaci<sup>13</sup> spe tenebatur<sup>14</sup>. Illam profecto nequaquam<sup>15</sup> abjicere voluit<sup>16</sup> quamdiu sperare licuit, nec tamen<sup>17</sup> quidquam<sup>18</sup> spondere audebat<sup>19</sup>, ne tristior eventus exequi promissa vetaret<sup>20</sup>, ac princeps ille variasse notaretur. Nil certum<sup>21</sup> respondere est ausus, nec tamen animum parendi<sup>22</sup> umquam deposuit, inter spes et metus animo suo fluctuante. Nam in capite mensis Julii sanctitatis vestrae prima<sup>23</sup> requisitio sibi innotuit, cum scilicet<sup>24</sup> illa prima commotio<sup>25</sup> inter principes illarum partium exorta est, in qua dux ille partes Alberti marchionis

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<sup>1</sup> Theotonico N

<sup>2</sup> duxi M

<sup>3</sup> ad *add.* N, P

<sup>4</sup> eloqui M, S, T

<sup>5</sup> beatorum pedum : pedum beatorum S, T

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>7</sup> sanctitatis vestrae : unde N, P; status vestri S; status tui T

<sup>8</sup> optans S, T

<sup>9</sup> beate S, T

<sup>10</sup> responderit M; respondeat N, P

<sup>11</sup> flagret et N, P; flagrare S

<sup>12</sup> tum S, T

<sup>13</sup> pertinacius S, T

<sup>14</sup> detenebatur T

<sup>15</sup> antequam M, N, P; nequaquam *corr. ex* cuiquam S; cuiquam T

<sup>16</sup> noluit M, N, P

<sup>17</sup> tum T

<sup>18</sup> quiquam P

<sup>19</sup> *em.*; auderet codd.

<sup>20</sup> notaret S, T

<sup>21</sup> certe N, P

<sup>22</sup> parandi S

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>24</sup> salus S, T

<sup>25</sup> sibi innotuit ...commotio *omit.* N, P

Brandenburgensis<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> firmans - propter foedus percussum simul et germanam<sup>3</sup> inter illos principes contractam affinitatem<sup>4</sup>, et pactum mutuae successionis, si alterutrius stirpis<sup>5</sup> masculi<sup>6</sup> deficerent, ac<sup>7</sup> etiam propter antea sibi praestita auxilia vicaria ope pensanda, quae obligatio inter principes et armipotentes viros summa ducitur ac semper summo cum fervore<sup>8</sup> solvenda<sup>9</sup> - vires suas undique contraxit, in quibus ita perstitit<sup>10</sup> ac perseveravit, equitum ac<sup>11</sup> peditum campestem exercitum ducens, cujus virtute et fortitudine Albertus marchio causam differentiarum suarum ad optatum et tunc placitum<sup>12</sup> sibi finem perduxit. Conciliatis<sup>13</sup> vero<sup>14</sup> principibus pridem adversantibus, non licuit ab exercitu ex vario populorum statu congesto discedere, ne excursionibus aut liberiore<sup>15</sup> licentia quisquam praedae fortasse intentior<sup>16</sup> manibus emificiis<sup>17</sup> pacem disturbaret vel expertes homines<sup>18</sup> differentiae populos inquietaret: dignum ratus est princeps ille ad compescendas {143r} quaslibet insolentias exercitum ad propria reducere.

[14] Cumque ad locum solitae residentiae pervenisset, secunda vestrae sanctitatis requisitio ad se delata est. Verum interea nonnulli finitimi<sup>19</sup> illarum partium terras ecclesiae Maguntii<sup>20</sup> in Saxoniae confinibus sitas, quas ille princeps in tutelam et protectionem suam jamdudum acceperat, invaserunt, adversum<sup>21</sup> quos exercitum nunc nuper amotum, nec tamen omnino dissolutum traducere parabat. Neque enim minus illorum salutis<sup>22</sup> et tranquillitatis<sup>23</sup> sollicitus erat quam suae vel suorum, qui sibi vectigalia pendunt, eo quod illos in fidem et scutum<sup>24</sup> suae protectionis suscepisset. Et electus ipsius ecclesiae Maguntii<sup>25</sup> illis ipsis novissime praefectus erat, et idcirco propter recentis injuriae flagrantiam magis exarsit animus ducis ad vindictam. Intervenit autem

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* M; Bramidenburgensis N; Brandeburgensis P

<sup>2</sup> Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg (1414-1486)

<sup>3</sup> Germanica N, P; Germaniam S, T

<sup>4</sup> fraternitatem M, N, P; severitatem S

<sup>5</sup> stirpes N, P

<sup>6</sup> masculine N, P

<sup>7</sup> ut S, T

<sup>8</sup> fenore M, N, P

<sup>9</sup> solenda S; servanda T

<sup>10</sup> persistit N, P

<sup>11</sup> et P

<sup>12</sup> placidum N, P

<sup>13</sup> conciliatus N, P

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>15</sup> liberiori S, T

<sup>16</sup> nocentior S, T

<sup>17</sup> emisit S; *blank space* T

<sup>18</sup> omnes M; omnis S, T

<sup>19</sup> finitum S

<sup>20</sup> Maguntini P; Maguntine T

<sup>21</sup> adversus S, T

<sup>22</sup> saluti T

<sup>23</sup> tranquillitati T

<sup>24</sup> statum S

<sup>25</sup> Maguntini P; Maguntinae S, T

illustris et magnificus ille princeps langravius Hassiae, qui et ipse ac genitor ipsius cum ducibus Saxoniae foederatus est, ut mutuam successionem alterutrum expectant<sup>1</sup>, prout ab antiquo ab eadem stirpe ambo fluxerunt, et eadem est illis origo. Cujus interventu damna sarcita<sup>2</sup>, captivi relaxati, et omnia restituta sunt ac reintegrata. Neque enim dux ille Wilhelmus voluptatis loco bella ducit, sed taliter inferre<sup>3</sup> conatur, ut nil nisi pax quaesita videatur, quae, cum sibi ex sola belli fama obvenerat, frustra bellum prosecutus<sup>4</sup> fuisset, dum sine vi ex solo belli adventu hostis trepidus se ducis arbitrio totum permisit. Itaque dux ipse etiam<sup>5</sup> inter arma locum dedit clementiae, quatenus in armis experta ferocia precibus illius principis expugnata et mansuefacta esse videretur.

[15] His successit negotium aliud ex veteri tamen causa descendens. Intellexit beatitudo vestra jam olim, dum in<sup>6</sup> imperiali curia et in hisce {143v} rebus ageret, Georgium<sup>7</sup>, tunc regni Bohemiae gubernatorem, nunc vero ejusdem regni fastigia tenentem,<sup>8</sup> occasionem quaesisse, qua duces Saxoniae bello peteret<sup>9</sup> ac terras et castra LXVIII postulasse pleraque a ducibus ipsis et eorum progenitoribus ultra humanam memoriam possessa, nonnulla pretio comparata, quaedam vero justo bello quaesita et invasoribus ducum erepta. Sic etenim actum est, ut quamquam Bohemi finitimis<sup>10</sup> praedas auferrent ac violentias inferrent pro libito, et cum publico et justo bello victi erant, tunc demum questi<sup>11</sup> sunt vim eis illatam esse, culpantes ipsos duces<sup>12</sup>, quibus vim primum intulerant<sup>13</sup>, quod vim ipsam non sustinuissent, et ob eam rem<sup>14</sup> duces ipsi gravem expensam<sup>15</sup> subire coacti sunt, ne quando in eos impetus fieret, ipsi reperirentur inermes.

[16] Nec plane decere<sup>16</sup> videbatur bellum, quod a Bohemis impendebat, alio vicario bello praevenire neque propellere, sed ipsius regis Ladislai, qui utrique duci quam proxima affinitate jungebatur, graviorem aetatem expectare, spe freti<sup>17</sup> certissima<sup>18</sup>, cum rex<sup>19</sup> ille administrationem regnorum suorum pro suo ingenio exerceret, futurum esse, ut duces ipsos, affines suos, gratia, favore, et

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<sup>1</sup> expectent M, N, P

<sup>2</sup> sartita T; sortita S

<sup>3</sup> in fine S, T

<sup>4</sup> secutus T

<sup>5</sup> omit. S, T

<sup>6</sup> omit. S, T

<sup>7</sup> Pogiebratium add. T

<sup>8</sup> Georg Podiebrad, formerly governor of Bohemia, was elected king in March 1458 after the demise of the 17-year old king, Ladislaus Postumus

<sup>9</sup> impeteret T

<sup>10</sup> finitimi N, P

<sup>11</sup> questi corr. ex quesiti S; quesiti N, T

<sup>12</sup> ipsos duces : duces ipsos M

<sup>13</sup> intulerunt M, N, P

<sup>14</sup> omit. N, P

<sup>15</sup> gravem expensam : graves expensas S, T

<sup>16</sup> dicere S, T

<sup>17</sup> fieri S, T

<sup>18</sup> ortissima S; ornatissima T

<sup>19</sup> omit. M

sinceritate prosequeretur<sup>1</sup>. Quo vita functo, cum duces ipsi minas pristinas ac metum abjecissent, non dubitantes ammodo<sup>2</sup> bellum tam suscipere quam referre, illustris Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis<sup>3</sup>, tractator intervenit, qui negotium eo reduxit, quod terrae et castra supradicta apud duces<sup>4</sup> Saxoniae perpetuis<sup>5</sup> temporibus debeant remanere.

[17] Videbantur autem haec foedera majoris<sup>6</sup> cujusdam vinculi indigere, quam commoditatem fors<sup>7</sup> attulit. Est regi Georgio filius, est et<sup>8</sup> illi filia, ambo conjugio soluti, sed ferme nubiles annis, et ex adverso<sup>9</sup> Wilhelmo filia et Friderico, Saxoniae ducibus, filius. Quid {144r} plura? Correspondent<sup>10</sup> anni, et<sup>11</sup> bono animo dixerim: copulatae sunt feminae maribus<sup>12</sup>, et e contra. Traductioni femellarum<sup>13</sup> vicissim dictus est dies, et locus designatus Egera<sup>14</sup>, qui locus est regni Bohemiae limes, ubi pacis foedera - si fata sinent<sup>15</sup> - XI. praesentis mensis Novembris, heri quidem elapsa,<sup>16</sup> cum scilicet apud Germanos festivitas anseris celebratur, de qua Maro canit:

*in summo custos Tarpeiae<sup>17</sup> Manlius<sup>18</sup> arcis  
stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat,  
atque hinc auratis volitans argenteus anser  
porticibus Gallos in limine<sup>19</sup> adesse canebat.  
Galli per dumos<sup>20</sup> aderant<sup>21</sup> arcemque tenebant*

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<sup>1</sup> prosequetur S, T

<sup>2</sup> amodo M, T

<sup>3</sup> Brandeburgensis M, P

<sup>4</sup> apud duces *omit.* S, T

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>6</sup> majus *corr. ex* maioris S

<sup>7</sup> sors S, T

<sup>8</sup> est et : et est S, T

<sup>9</sup> adversis N, P, S, T

<sup>10</sup> correspondet N

<sup>11</sup> quod *add.* S, T

<sup>12</sup> manibus T

<sup>13</sup> feminarum M

<sup>14</sup> egregia S

<sup>15</sup> sumet S

<sup>16</sup> The Congress of Eger (Cheb) opened on April 7 and resulted in an agreement between the Bohemian and Saxon/Brandenburg parties, to be confirmed by a double marriage between George of Podiebrad's daughter, Zdenka, with Albrecht, son of Duke Friedrich II of Sachsen (which took place on 11 November, as announced by Heimburg), and between Podiebrad's youngest son, Hynek, and Duke William's daughter Katherina. The last marriage took place some years later, due to the young age of the spouses, see Heymann: *George*, ch. 9. See also Joachimsohn, p. 160: *Georg schloss mit allen ab... er wollte für allem die Kurfürsten für sich gewinnen*

<sup>17</sup> Turpie S; Tarpeie *corr. ex* Turpie T

<sup>18</sup> Mallius M, N, P; manibus S, T

<sup>19</sup> summe S, T

<sup>20</sup> divinas S, T

<sup>21</sup> adorant S; adorantur T

*defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.*<sup>1 2</sup>

Defensi tenebris, inquit, non autem<sup>3</sup> clipeos<sup>4</sup> ad<sup>5</sup> tela sinistris protecti<sup>6</sup> objiciunt: prensant<sup>7</sup> fastigia dexteris.<sup>8</sup> Urbe quippe a Gallis capta, Galli non clipeis ad<sup>9</sup> tela<sup>10</sup> protecti, sed tenebris protecti leguntur, vicaria traductione roborabuntur.

[18] Inter haec fluctuantia bella, concurrentia ac sese trudentia negotia, pater beatissime, non fuit facultas principi illi se vestrae beatitudinis<sup>11</sup> conspectui<sup>12</sup> repraesentare<sup>13</sup>. Et quia sanctitas vestra ultimis litteris ad ducem illum datis se firmat<sup>14</sup> post illum diem Mantuae non mansurum, ad pedes sanctitatis vestrae<sup>15</sup> provolutos mittit illos praesentes, generosum dominum Bertholdum, comitem de Hennenberg<sup>16</sup>, ab antiquo Romanorum sanguine et prosapia, videlicet reverendissimi in Christo patris de Columna, ut fertur, productus. Et adjunxit illi venerabilem dominum Arnoldum, utriusque juris doctorem, ecclesiae Bremensis canonicum, et venerandum ac<sup>17</sup> strenuum militem, dominum Johannem de Allenblomen<sup>18</sup>, decretorum doctorem et militem, socerum meum, et dominum Christianum Hugonis<sup>19</sup>, ecclesiae Nurembergensis canonicum, protonotarium {144v} ex cancellaria sua, fideles suos oratores et consiliarios etc.,<sup>20 21</sup> qui rebus gerendis sua vice intersint, consulant<sup>22</sup> pro viribus, et avisent<sup>23</sup>, seseque<sup>24</sup> gerant, uti<sup>25</sup> catholici principis oratores bene decet.

[19] Quippe cujus progenitorum fides et fortitudo in prioribus ecclesiae Romanae turbinibus experta prae ceteris principibus et cognita est. Cetera, quae ad rem pertinent, suis locis et temporibus

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<sup>1</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8, 653-658

<sup>2</sup> *defensi tenebris ... opacae omit.* S, T

<sup>3</sup> non autem : autem non P

<sup>4</sup> clipeus S, T

<sup>5</sup> *em.*; ac/t codd.

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>7</sup> *pensant* M, N, P; *pensa* S, T

<sup>8</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2, 444-445

<sup>9</sup> ac/t S: aut T

<sup>10</sup> telis T

<sup>11</sup> *vestrae beatitudinis* : *beatitudinis tue* T

<sup>12</sup> *se add.* N, P

<sup>13</sup> *presentare* T

<sup>14</sup> *affirmat* T

<sup>15</sup> *sanctitatis vestrae* : *vestre sanctitatis* S

<sup>16</sup> Henneberg N; Henneburg P

<sup>17</sup> et S

<sup>18</sup> Allenplumen N, P; Auldenblomen T

<sup>19</sup> Hugonis T

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>21</sup> *illos praesentes generosum ... consiliarios etc. omit.* M

<sup>22</sup> *et add.* T

<sup>23</sup> *ausent* N, P

<sup>24</sup> *seque* T

<sup>25</sup> *ut* S, T



explicabimus ad laudem Dei et sanctitatis vestrae gloriam, quam servet<sup>1</sup> Deus et dominus ac salvator noster Jesus Christus, qui est benedictus per<sup>2</sup> saecula saeculorum. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> conservet T

<sup>2</sup> in T

<sup>3</sup> Dixi *add.* T

## Appendix C: Oration “*In refulgenti*” of Gregor Heimburg (21 November 1459, Mantua)

At the Congress of Mantua, the German jurist Gregor Heimburg, antipapalist and anti-Roman, represented three princes, including Duke Sigismund of Austria (Tyrol), on whose behalf he gave an oration on 21 November 1459, the same day as the French and Angevin embassies were received. In his oration, Gregor chose to quite insolently refer to the pope’s youthful writings and letters to the very young Sigismund (some having an erotic content which was apparently widely known), thus intending to embarrass the pope.

Joachimsohn wrote about the oration:

*In der Rede für Sigismund von Tirol erinnerte Heimburg den Papst an seine Briefe, die er einst als Sekretär König Friedrichs an den Herzog geschrieben hatte. Die Umstehenden lachten, sie können wohl alle das unheilige Brevier, das Aeneas damals dem Jüngling in die Hand gegeben. Oder spotteten sie über den Deutschen, der von der “Übertragung” der Redekunst auf seine Landsleute sprach? Es mochte ein aufrichtiges Lob sein, mit dem Heimburg fortfuhr: “Jene Briefe wird keine Veränderung vernichten, keine Zeit in Vergessenheit bringen” – es war doch ein unangenehmes für den Papst, der den Aeneas so gerne in Vergessenheit gebracht hätte.<sup>1</sup>*

Concerning the term *litterae oratoriae* used by Heimburg, Joachimsohn also noted:

*Voigt, Aeneas III, 100, meint, dass Heimburg an dieser Stelle nicht wie die Handschriften geben, von litterae oratoriae sondern von litterae amatoriae gesprochen habe, die Milderung sei erst in der Niederschrift erfolgt. Das scheint mir nicht richtig. Möglich ist dass die Umstehenden eine Anspielung auf die Liebensbriefe heraushörten – nach der weiteren Ausführung Heimburgs wird man das Lachen derselben jedenfalls doppelt deuten können, wie oben geschehen ist – der Zusatz aber “quas ipsa s.v. persona ab Italis traduxit in Germanos” macht ganz sicher, dass Heimburg litterae oratoriae sagte und dabei auf den stylus oratorius anspielte ...<sup>2</sup>*

In his *Commentarii*, Pius II himself wrote about the event:

*While this was going on, Sigismund, duke of Austria, having promised repeatedly that he would come arrived at Mantua in great style ... He was welcomed to a public audience. His spokesman was Gregor Heimburg, who touched on many of the notable points of the House of Austria. He*

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<sup>1</sup> Joachimsohn, p. 105

<sup>2</sup> Joachimsohn, p. 105-106, n. 3

*declared that the prince was fired with a passion to fight the Turks and that he had come to ratify in person everything that his nation had offered, insofar as it concerned him.*

*The pope, who had known Sigismund from a boy, declared that he had had a most laudable childhood; he passed over his later years in silence. He confirmed and even added to the praise that Gregor had bestowed on his family. He accepted his aid against the Turks. Among other things, Gregor had said that when Pius had not yet attained high office,<sup>1</sup> Sigismund had been his pupil and had eagerly read his letters, a copy of which he still kept by him. Some of these letters were in fact written to Sigismund itself. This can be verified by anyone who examines Pius' collection of secular correspondence, written before he took holy orders.<sup>2</sup>*

Note that here Pius shows no embarrassment at his youthful correspondence – including letters on the amatory art – written before he became a cleric. He was actually quite proud of his youthful writings, also the erotic ones, published previously by himself as part of his collection of epistles from his lay period,<sup>3</sup> though he had endeavoured, quite successfully, to suppress his more salacious poems from his student days in Siena.

In all manuscripts, the text breaks off quite abruptly and is clearly incomplete. This may be due to some accident or error in the line of transmission.<sup>4</sup> A member of the French embassy, Jean de Chambes, of 23 November 1459, states that in the oration, Heimburg – on behalf of the duke – declared that in the matter of the crusade he would align himself with the policies of the King of France. As this is not mentioned in the extant text, it would have been part of the missing text.

Another explanation, however, is that Heimburg's oration may have been cut short by the papal master of ceremonies, since the consistory of the day had a very charged agenda, including the reception and oration of the French ambassadors. Cutting off a ducal ambassador in mid-speech was of course not very polite, but Heimburg had probably irritated the pope and his entourage with his insistence of the pope's youthful writings, clearly intended to provoke, and had afterwards digressed into the history of Serbia. Actually, another ambassador apparently had his oration cut short at the Congress, viz. Jean Jouffroy, ambassador of Burgundy, whose oration "*Frequentiam principum*" – delivered after long orations by the pope and Cardinal Bessarion during the opening session of the Congress on 26 September - ends rather abruptly, too, clearly having been cut short.<sup>5</sup>

The text has been edited previously by Joachimsohn, in 1891.

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<sup>1</sup> Meserve translates *in minoribus ageret* with *was in minor orders*. On the expression *In minoribus*, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 10

<sup>2</sup> CO, III, 44 (Meserve, II, pp. 187-189)

<sup>3</sup> For editions of Piccolomini/Pius' epistles, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 11

<sup>4</sup> Joachimsohn, p. 164

<sup>5</sup> See the comments to Jouffroy's oration in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 12

The present edition is based on the following manuscripts:

- **Budapest / Országos Széchényi Könyvtár**  
Miscellanea 1560, ff. 192r-201r<sup>1</sup>, as edited by Joachimsohn, pp. 316-318 (pagination: red)  
(JO)
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos 88, ff. 99r-101r (T)
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**  
clm 522, ff. 151v-153v (P)
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**  
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 252v-253v (N)
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**  
B VIII 15, ff. 180v-182v (S) (pagination)

The notes comprise textual variants and references etc.

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. I, ch. 9.

The date of the oration was 21 November 1459.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Joachimsohn, p. 162: *F. 192-201 folgen ... die Reden Heimburg's für Wilhelm von Sachsen ... [&] für Sigismund von Tyrol*

## Oratio habita in praesentia ducis Sigismundi Austriae per suos oratores ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Pium divina providentia papam secundum<sup>1</sup>

[1] {180v} In refulgenti sanctitatis vestrae<sup>2</sup> auditorio<sup>3</sup>, pater beatissime, simul et<sup>4</sup> hac sacratissima<sup>5</sup> contione reverendissimorum patrum et principum ac<sup>6</sup> oratorum nobilissimorum obsequentissimus<sup>7</sup> est<sup>8</sup> sanctitatis vestrae filius Sigismundus<sup>9</sup>, dux Austriae, comparens, mihi quidem, patruelis sui Alberti archiducis nuntio, utriusque vero principis familiari, praecepit animi sui<sup>10</sup> desiderium verbotenus explicare, cuius<sup>11</sup> et *mihi iussa capessere fas est*<sup>12</sup>. Omnibus quippe ducibus Austriae summa gratia<sup>13</sup> conciliatis<sup>14</sup> decet omnium eorum satellites, ministros, et actores principibus ipsis<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> promiscue famulari<sup>17</sup>.

[2] Locutus, inquam<sup>18</sup>, pater beatissime, de hac saluberrima Christianae reipublicae expeditione, propter quam hic sacer conventus per sanctitatem vestram convocatus est, in primis affectionem honestissimam huius principis erga beatitudinem vestram justissimis ac validissimis rationibus subnixam. Luculenter explicabo, quo pateat ipsius principis in rebus gerendis sinceritas, quam non minoribus indiciis domino adjuvante<sup>19</sup> confirmabo.

[3] In primis siquidem meminisse iuvat illa primaeva {181r} tempora, cum beatitudinis vestrae persona apud gloriosissimum imperatorem nostrum inita familiaritate atque hinc etiam in illius principis ineuntibus adhuc annis adolescentiae, qui plurimum habent favoris et gratiae, cum ipso

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<sup>1</sup> Oratio G. Heimburg pro Sigismundo Austriae duce N; Oratio G. Heimburg pro Sigismundo Austriae duce P; Oratio Georgii Heymberger, Juris Utriusque Doctoris, coram Pio Papa II. in conventu Mantuano pro Sigismundo Austriae duce T

<sup>2</sup> *tue et passim* T

<sup>3</sup> auditoris N, P

<sup>4</sup> in *add.* S

<sup>5</sup> sanctissima S, T

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>7</sup> filius *add.* S

<sup>8</sup> eiusdem T

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>11</sup> cui S

<sup>12</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1, 77

<sup>13</sup> gloria T

<sup>14</sup> conciliaris S

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>16</sup> principibus ipsis : ipsis principibus JO

<sup>17</sup> familiari N, P

<sup>18</sup> inquit S, T

<sup>19</sup> annuente S, T

ducali adolescente notitiam contraxit<sup>1</sup>, quae simul cum aetate crevit<sup>2</sup> adaucta feliciter, fomentum subministrantibus litteris illis oratoriis<sup>3</sup>, quas ipsa sanctitatis vestrae persona ab Italis traduxit in Germanos.

[*Hic visi sunt consusurrantes<sup>4</sup>, quibus respondi<sup>5</sup> taliter interrumpens orationem, ut sequitur infra<sup>6</sup>.]*<sup>7</sup>

[4] [Igitur - pace tua - latius<sup>8</sup> dixerim: Neque enim ita traductam dixisse velim, ut aiunt Apollonium illum, coram quo, cum Cicero noster orasset, cunctis eum certatim admirantibus et laudantibus, illi<sup>9</sup> se<sup>10</sup> Graeciae misertum dixisse fertur: “Ego te laudo et admiror, mi Cicero, sed quod te orante tacui, admiratio quidem et commiseratio fecit. Repetebam namque<sup>11</sup> mecum prisca tempora, Graecos scilicet armis et gubernatione<sup>12</sup> reipublicae cunctis nationibus praestitisse, quarum rerum palmam Romani jam pridem vera atque incredibili arte nobis<sup>13</sup> abstulerunt. Reliquum erat eloquentiae decus, quod a te nobis auferri et ad Romanos traduci video, ita ut nil jam praecipuum apud Graecos sit remansurum.”<sup>14</sup> Nil est, quod Latium<sup>15</sup> queratur, si de suo<sup>16</sup> lumine lumen accendamus<sup>17</sup>, si ex indeficiente igne facem accendimus<sup>18</sup>, absque ulla ignis Latini attenuatione vel obscuracione, sicut<sup>19</sup> ferunt poetae de pio furto<sup>20</sup> Promethei.]

[5] Digressus sum, pater beatissime, nunc<sup>21</sup> me revoco<sup>22</sup>, ut redeat, unde exivit, oratio. Dixi, pater beatissime, firmamentum contractae notitiae et<sup>23</sup> amoris {181v} accensi<sup>24</sup> praestitisse litteras illas

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<sup>1</sup> omit. S

<sup>2</sup> venit S, T

<sup>3</sup> Voigt emendated *oratoriis* to *amatoriis*, cf. Joachimsohn's refutation, p. 105-106, n. 3

<sup>4</sup> consecrantes S, T

<sup>5</sup> respondet S, T

<sup>6</sup> ita S, T

<sup>7</sup> This passage, i.e. the use of *respondi*, shows that the texts of Heimburg's orations in Mantua were edited and circulated by himself, and did not derive from the papal court, cf. Joachimsohn (note however the use of *respondet* in S and T, two late manuscripts)

<sup>8</sup> *em.*; latium codd.

<sup>9</sup> ille S, T

<sup>10</sup> sese T

<sup>11</sup> iamque N, igitur P

<sup>12</sup> gubernationibus T

<sup>13</sup> vobis N, P

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch: *Parallel lives / Cicero*, c. 4

<sup>15</sup> Latinum S, T

<sup>16</sup> uno S, T

<sup>17</sup> accendimus S, JO; ascendimus T

<sup>18</sup> si ex ... accendimus *omit.* N, P

<sup>19</sup> sic N, P

<sup>20</sup> profurto N, P, JO

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>22</sup> Revocat se modo *in marg.* N, P

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* N, P

<sup>24</sup> accensum S, T

oratorias etc.<sup>1</sup>, sed et illam sententiarum gravitatem simul et gravitate sententiarum e beato<sup>2</sup> illo pectore velut aliquo prophetiae fonte manantium ac suavitate carminum dulci modulatione currentium, sed et plurimarum suavissimarum epistolarum, quas nulla unquam litura cassabit, nulla vestustas obliturabit<sup>3</sup>, nec ulla obtenebrabit<sup>4</sup> uliginis<sup>5</sup> obscuritas, quarum<sup>6</sup> omnium princeps ille a legendo<sup>7</sup> ac<sup>8</sup> relegendo<sup>9</sup> religiosus<sup>10</sup> auctorem illarum Eneam Silvium iugi memoria complectitur.

[6] Quanta vero laetitia perfusum putemus illum principem, dum primum sibi nuntiatum est beatitudinem vestram hunc<sup>11</sup> thronum Dei conscendisse, hinc fas est coniiicere, nam Aurelius Augustinus gavisus est Victorinum, sui temporis oratorem, episcopum factum<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>. Quanto gaudio dixerim hunc principem triumphasse oratorem illum, de cuius eloquentiae profluvio nonnihil doctrinarum hausit ac sententiarum, factum esse cunctorum episcoporum<sup>14</sup> et<sup>15</sup> patriarcharum ac<sup>16</sup> totius ecclesiae catholicae<sup>17</sup> pontificem. Quid porro dicam de illa benignitatis suae clementia, quod<sup>18</sup> oratores huius principis euntes et redeuntes humanissime suscepit, clementer audivit, et voti compotes a se remisit. Apud Maronem fingitur ille profugus<sup>19</sup> Aeneas exclamare: “*Cur dextrae iungere dextram non datur ac veras audire ac*<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> *reddere voces.*”<sup>22</sup> Hic princeps meus exclamabat: “Cur non sacra pedum oscula mihi pateant, cur non sacrae voces resonent in auribus meis?”

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<sup>1</sup> omit. S, T

<sup>2</sup> orato S, T

<sup>3</sup> oblitterabit T

<sup>4</sup> obtrectabit T

<sup>5</sup> vuliginis P; uliginis corr. ex viliginis S; viliginis T; caliginis proponit JO

<sup>6</sup> quorum S

<sup>7</sup> a legendo : allegando S, T

<sup>8</sup> et T

<sup>9</sup> relegando S, T

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Cicero: *De natura deorum*, 2.28.172: *sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo ex diligendo diligentes ex intellegendo intellegentes*

<sup>11</sup> omit. T

<sup>12</sup> sanctum N

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Augustinus: *Confessiones*, 8, 2, 5. See Joachimsohn, p. 317, n. 8

<sup>14</sup> omit. N, P

<sup>15</sup> ac S, T

<sup>16</sup> et P

<sup>17</sup> omit. P

<sup>18</sup> quot T

<sup>19</sup> profusus S, T

<sup>20</sup> et JO

<sup>21</sup> audire et omit. S, T

<sup>22</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.408-409

[7] Omissis igitur quibuscumque<sup>1</sup> privatis rebus, quas respectu illius christianae reipublicae expeditionis<sup>2</sup> privatas vocari<sup>3</sup> concesserim, quamvis et ipsae<sup>4</sup> non parum urgeant<sup>5</sup>, potissime autem illorum {182r} foederatorum, qui sub velamento libertatis omne subiectionis et reverentiae iugum abiiciunt<sup>6</sup>, clerum ac nobilitatem sanguinis<sup>7</sup> contemnunt, de quibus alio<sup>8</sup> loco dicitur<sup>9</sup>, ante pedes beatitudinis vestrae comparuit, pia<sup>10</sup> oscula suscepit, conspexit vultum diu videre concupitum, voces veras audire ac reddere sperat.

[8] Nunc vero ad sanctum illud propositum<sup>11</sup> beatitudinis vestrae contra Turcos sermo<sup>12</sup> vertendus<sup>13</sup> est, quod opus pernecessarium<sup>14</sup> sanctitas vestra<sup>15</sup> ex causa et tempore, sed et possibile et<sup>16</sup> factu<sup>17</sup> facile ex persona jam pridem<sup>18</sup> egregie peroravit,<sup>19</sup> quibus et hoc<sup>20</sup> addit princeps meus, quod interea, dum dormitamus, Servia cum Rascia similiter<sup>21</sup> et Bosna defecerunt a nobis, facile autem rediturae, si ab universali ecclesia oppressae<sup>22</sup> Christianitati succurratur. Est autem Servia regnum vetustissimum, quod olim Mysia<sup>23</sup> vocabatur, siquidem apud cosmographos ab oriente Thraciam habet, ab austro sinum Adriaticum<sup>24</sup>. Rascia vero principatus Serviae est, cuius incolae principem suum “Dispot” nuncupant<sup>25</sup>, quod lingua<sup>26</sup> sua<sup>27</sup> regium<sup>28</sup> nomen esse perhibetur<sup>29</sup>. Vidi autem in aetate mea illum Stephanum dispotum, qui a Sigismundo<sup>30</sup> Hungariae rege est<sup>31</sup> neglectus in bello

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<sup>1</sup> quisque N, P, JO

<sup>2</sup> expeditione N, P

<sup>3</sup> vacari S

<sup>4</sup> ipse T

<sup>5</sup> urgeat T

<sup>6</sup> abiecerunt N, P

<sup>7</sup> omit. T

<sup>8</sup> docere add. S

<sup>9</sup> dicere restat T

<sup>10</sup> ita S

<sup>11</sup> illud propositum : propositum illud S, T

<sup>12</sup> sed me N, P

<sup>13</sup> recedendus S; dirigendus T

<sup>14</sup> fore add. S, T

<sup>15</sup> sanctitas vestra : vestra sanctitas S

<sup>16</sup> ac S, T

<sup>17</sup> factum S

<sup>18</sup> pridie corr. ex pridem S; pridie T

<sup>19</sup> Here, Heimburg probably refers to Pius' grand opening speech, the “Cum bellum hodie” [45]

<sup>20</sup> hec S

<sup>21</sup> simul S, T

<sup>22</sup> expresse S

<sup>23</sup> Urisia S

<sup>24</sup> Adriatica S

<sup>25</sup> nuncupavit N, P

<sup>26</sup> pigua P

<sup>27</sup> lingua sua : sua lingua T

<sup>28</sup> regnum N, P

<sup>29</sup> prohibetur P

<sup>30</sup> Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437): Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary and of Bohemia

<sup>31</sup> omit. S



illo, quod ex condito cum avo praesentis Turci<sup>1</sup> gestum est<sup>2</sup>, hostem expertus acerrimum. Deinde Bosna vero ex regnis Liburnorum<sup>3</sup> est, postea vero degeneravit ac<sup>4</sup> ducali nomine contentus<sup>5</sup> mansit<sup>6</sup>, donec Ludovicus,<sup>7</sup> rex Hungariae, socer quondam imperatoris Sigismundi, filiam<sup>8</sup> ducis Bosnae<sup>9</sup> uxorem duxit ac socerum suum regio diademate ornavit, quod etiam posteri reges<sup>10</sup> Bosnae usque in<sup>11</sup> tempus illius perduellionis<sup>12</sup> seu defectionis a regis Hungariae manibus<sup>13</sup> habent<sup>14</sup> recipere.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Turce T

<sup>2</sup> et S, T

<sup>3</sup> Luburnorum S

<sup>4</sup> et S, T

<sup>5</sup> contenta S, T

<sup>6</sup> remansit S, T

<sup>7</sup> Louis I (1326-1382): King of Hungary, Croatia, and Poland

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth of Bosnia (c. 1339-1387): queen of Louis I, in second marriage

<sup>9</sup> Stefan II (-1353): Ban of Bosnia

<sup>10</sup> regis JO

<sup>11</sup> secundum S, T

<sup>12</sup> pro duellionis S; perduelliorum N, P

<sup>13</sup> minibus JO

<sup>14</sup> *em.*; haberet S; habet N, P; habent (?) JO

<sup>15</sup> Amen *add.* N; Dixi *add.* T